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new weekly column**

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# THE INDEPENDENT

2,990

MONDAY 20 MAY 1996

WEATHER Windy with sunshine and showers 40p (IR 45p)

## The thief, the Serbian link and the financing of Britain's ruling party

**Tories in 'sleaze'  
row over  
£500,000 gifts**

**DONALD MACINTYRE  
COLIN BROWN  
and CHRIS BLACKHURST**

The Tory party came under concerted pressure last night to reveal the sources of its funding after it was embroiled in a fresh "sleaze" row over donations totalling £500,000.

Brian Mawhinney, the party chairman, ordered an immediate investigation into allegations that Serbian businessmen linked to the Bosnian Serb

leader, Radovan Karadzic, gave the Tories more than £100,000.

Dr Mawhinney announced that he would be speaking "personally" to John Kennedy, a prospective Tory parliamentary candidate, who had links to the Bosnian Serb leadership and is reported to have introduced a prominent Serb businessman to Jeremy Hanley, the then party chairman, in December 1994.

The move came as senior Tories also sought to defend the party from charges that it had refused to pay back £365,000 of stolen money paid to it by the fugitive businessman Asil Nadir. A report by the accountants Touché Ross, leaked to the *Independent on Sunday*, saying that most of the £400,000 do-

notation by Mr Nadir had been fraudulently acquired, was said to have been given to Conservative Central Office three years ago.

The Central Office investigation is into a report in yesterday's *Sunday Times* about two donations, one in 1992 by a British based "Yugoslav" entrepreneur, and one two years later by the businessman who reportedly met Mr Hanley in a London restaurant.

Lawyers acting for a businessman of "Yugoslav birth" last night did not deny a donation to Tory funds by their client but adamantly denied he had any links with the Mr Karadzic, who is wanted on war crimes charges, or anyone in the Bosnian Serb leadership.

Prominent libel lawyers, Peter Carter Ruck, said in a statement: "Our client is a British citizen of Yugoslav birth and has been resident in the UK for over a decade. Our client has been a director of a number of British limited companies in London who have substantial assets in this country."

"Our client is outraged by any suggestion that he is linked in any way to Radovan Karadzic or the Bosnian Serbs."

Robin Cook, Labour's foreign affairs spokesman, said that if true the allegations amounted to "the worst scandal that we have seen in this Parliament".

Meanwhile, senior Tory sources insisted that it still had not been proved that the donation made by Mr Nadir had been drawn from stolen funds. The report drawn up by Christopher Morris, senior partner at Touché Ross, administrators of Mr Nadir's failed company Polly Peck, gave evidence apparently establishing that the £365,000 came from money defrauded by the company. The report added: "The evidence we have



obtained to date shows that a large proportion of the £400,000 donations made to the Conservative Party formed part of Mr Nadir's fraud and/or breach of fiduciary duty and/or breach of trust and/or misfeasance as a director."

The *Independent on Sunday* said that the report accompanied a request for the money back which was refused even though a month earlier Sir Norman Fowler, then the party chairman, had told the Commons that if Touché Ross provided proof that the money was stolen it would be returned.

A senior party source pointed out last night that the Con-

servative Party was not alone as recipients of Mr Nadir's largesse and that a number of charities had received donations.

It has become clear that Tory donors are hiding their support for the party by making non-returnable interest free "loans" instead of giving straight cash payments. Central Office sources have confirmed that corporate donors are now being canvassed to make loans if they feel worried about being publicly revealed as Tory backers.

While a cash payment should be declared as a political donation in company accounts, a loan can be kept secret. A City accountant said

it was easy for a company to hide a loan in the "creditors" section of its accounts. In the future, when it was not repaid, it would be written off as a bad debt.

The party has received at least £10m over the past 12 months, party insiders confirmed last night. That has enabled Mr Mawhinney to wipe out the overdraft which he announced in March stood at £2.5m. The party is believed to have about a £1m surplus.

Labour leaders said last night they would legislate to force the Tory party to reveal the identities of large donors. Frank Dobson said: "We suspect that

a large amount of this money is coming from Hong Kong businessmen. There have also been stories that it may have come from China. The public have a right to know."

Tory sources said last night that the bulk of the donations were in £10,000 or £15,000 cheques from individual businessmen. "The story speaks for itself. They don't want to see a Labour Government," said one.

The CBI President Sir Colin Marshall yesterday unexpectedly fuelled the row by declaring it was not "appropriate" for companies to make donations to party funds.

Leading article, page 13

**Most wanted  
man that no one  
will arrest**

**TONY BARBER  
Europe Editor**

Radovan Karadzic, psychiatrist, fiddler, extreme nationalist and indicted war criminal, once wrote a poem in which he imagined burning down Sarajevo. Having succeeded only partly in that objective during the 1992-95 Bosnian war, the self-styled president of the Bosnian Serbs turned his attention last weekend to the more pressing task of saving his skin from the men who want him to stand trial in The Hague for genocide and crimes against humanity.

For the moment, he has done the trick. Despite being one of the world's most wanted men, and despite the presence of 60,000 Nato troops in Bosnia, it seems nobody wants to clap a hand on the Karadzic shoulder and say: "You're ticked."

He even managed, in the early hours of Saturday, to convene a session of the Bosnian Serb assembly at which 55 out of 56 delegates dutifully endorsed his choice of a hardliner as his new prime minister. It was an act of supreme defiance towards Carl Bildt, the international mediator who has made it his life's mission to capture Mr Karadzic and bring him to trial.

Mr Bildt took heart from Mr Karadzic's announcement that he was delegating some of his powers to one of his deputies, Biljana Plavsic. But the truth is that the unkempt doctor from Montenegro has by no means thrown in the towel.

It was easy to imagine Mr Karadzic last night holding court in Pale, surrounded by a troop of murderous yet obsequious gangsters, sipping his firewater

and chuckling at the West's inability to trap the fox.

The more astute Mr Bildt must now plot new tactics to snare his sworn enemy. One likely course will be to redouble his pleas to Serbia's President, Slobodan Milosevic, to extradite the greatest ethnic cleanser of them all to Belgrade and thence to The Hague.

But Mr Milosevic, who once told Mr Karadzic "not to throw away your winnings like a drunken poker player", spoons out co-



Karadzic: Act of defiance

operation to the West in measured doses. Decoded, his answer to those urging him to arrange Mr Karadzic's arrest is: "Perhaps now, perhaps later, perhaps never."

Meanwhile Nato is fully aware of Mr Karadzic's whereabouts, but unable or disinclined to arrest him. Perhaps, as Mr Bildt insists, the net is closing. But the lesson from last weekend's events is Mr Karadzic, a famous gambler, is still in his casino, betting as ever on his personal and political survival.

## Novel mystery: After a year in the basement, has a bookseller find two lost works? Miles away from the real Bronte

PAUL FIELD

As brand names go it has hard to beat Bronte. Like Sony, Heinz and BMW, it is short, instantly recognisable and known the world over. And this weekend we have had another example of just how powerful brand names are these days.

First, find a little known Victorian novel, written by a doughty, independent feminist, preferably covered in dust on some shelves in the darkest recesses of an antiquarian book store. Second, claim that textual analysis by computer shows the style to be that of Charlotte Bronte. Third, watch obscure, little-read novel transformed into best-seller by virtue of authorship. Fourth, start leafing through the nearest phone book for the number which most resembles the sum you hope to earn from the discovery.

In the media age, when books go on to become audio cassettes, television serials and films, discovering a lost masterpiece - or a lost mistresspiece - in your attic is like striking oil in your back garden.



Charlotte Bronte...



...and not Charlotte Bronte

indeed the author of two volumes he had found.

Mr King stumbled over *Sad Times*, a tract about the Luddites, in a bagful of books brought to his shop by a customer. *Miss Miles*, a novel dealing with hard times in the Yorkshire woollen industry before the Reform Act of 1832, attributed to the doughty Mary Taylor, was discovered in the National Library of Scotland where it was deposited in 1890.

If his findings are accepted, it will be a publishing sensation, worth perhaps millions of pounds, to literary agents, publishers and, quite possibly, Mr King himself.

Sadly, for Bronte lovers everywhere, it might be too soon to start celebrating. Scholars who have read *Miss Miles* say attributing it to the author of *Jane Eyre* would be a grave disservice. The novel could not possibly be her work. Yes, there are references to disagreeable and portidges, nuances characteristic of Bronte in Shirley. Yes, it might be the feminist novel Bronte yearned but was unable to write.

But, no, the style is not hers. It lacks the emotional power of her four known novels. And the sceptics point out that one does not have to descend into the vaults of the Scottish Library to discover *Miss Miles*. It was last reprinted by Oxford University Press in 1990 and is well known to Bronte scholars. Lyndall Gordon, whose biography of Bronte, *A Passionate Life*, was published in 1994, says: "It would never have occurred to me that *Miss Miles* was by Charlotte Bronte. I think Mr King is deluding himself."

women while Charlotte Bronte explores the hidden lives of women and goes for the deeper portraits.

The heroine, Sarah, is the daughter of a shopkeeper, yearning to discover what it takes to be a lady. She is disgusted by what she sees of bourgeois life. The lives of the other protagonists, Dora and Maria, reveal the constricted options open to 19th century women of all classes. The novel is marked by its uncompromising feminism, not something usually associated with Bronte.

But Mr King claims it is the novel she always wanted to write. "I think that Charlotte Bronte probably knew when she was writing it that it would not be published for some time," he explains. To account for how it came to be wrongly attributed, he speculates that the manuscript was stolen shortly after her death in 1855.

This, too, Ms Gordon, dismisses as pure supposition. "There was an exchange in the 1850s when Mary Taylor told Charlotte Bronte she was writing a novel, the description of which matches the content of *Miss Miles*. A simple explanation for holding onto it until 1890 was that it was only then that feminist novels were being published."

### QUICKLY

**Making stands**  
Heavy demand for shares in Railtrack sparked a political row last night, with Labour claiming the Government had sold the network off on the cheap. The shares, priced at 390p yesterday, start trading this morning with an immediate profit for investors expected. Page 18

**Boot for Cantona**  
Eric Cantona, English football's Player of the Year, and Newcastle's David Ginola were both omitted from the French squad for next month's European Championship. Sports section, page 2

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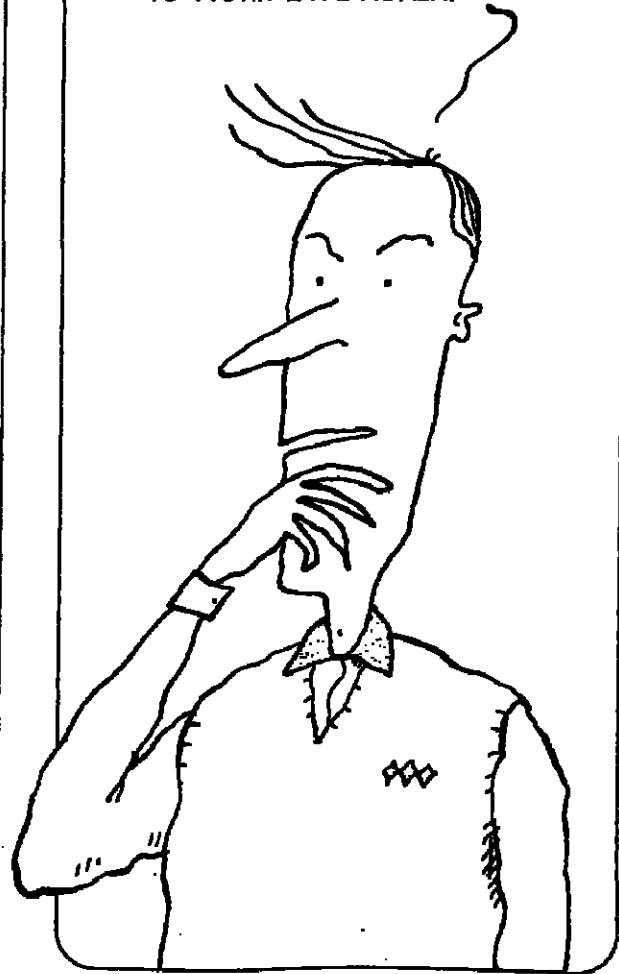


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## news

# UK threatens treaty over beef

The Government is threatening to block ratification of a key European treaty setting up Europol, the embryo European police force, unless progress is made on lifting the beef ban.

The threat, formulated by Michael Howard, the Home Secretary, is the first concrete sign that the Government will retaliate directly against its European partners. According to senior Whitehall sources, the plan to block Europol has been agreed by the Government in recent days following the growing anger at the refusal of other EU member states to agree to any easing of the blockade.

News that the Government is proposing the action has

## Sarah Helm reports on moves to get EU to ease the BSE ban

emerged as Europe's standing veterinary committee meets again today to consider whether to ease the ban on three beef products: gelatine, tallow and semen. The committee failed to agree to the partial lifting of the ban at a meeting in Brussels last Wednesday, when Germany led calls for keeping every element of the blockade in place.

The Government has so far insisted it will do nothing illegal to disrupt European business. However, the decision to focus retaliatory action on the Europol negotiations is carefully calculated to bring maximum

pressure on Europe, and particularly the Germans. Germany has made the setting up of Europol – a police co-operation network – as a major priority in the fight against international crime and drug trafficking. Helmut Kohl, the German chancellor, spoke last week of the urgent need to agree the Europol treaty.

Targeting Europol also allows Mr Howard to raise further criticisms of the European Court of Justice, which he attacked last week, calling for a reduction in the court's powers. The jurisdiction of the court over Eu-

ropol has long been a British objection to the treaty.

For many European member states, the establishment of Europol is envisaged as one of the most positive policies currently on the Brussels books, as it would prove to European citizens that member states are protecting their interests. A Europol computer already exists in the Hague to allow information sharing. Under the new treaty, Europe's forces would be given new cross-border ties although no European force is envisaged as yet.

The convention was signed at

the Cannes summit in June last year, but Britain then refused to endorse the proposal to bring Europol under the European Court's jurisdiction. Other member states argued that it was essential that the powers of the new policing network should be monitored and controlled by the Luxembourg court. But Britain saw it as an extension of the court's powers.

A deadline of a year was then set for member states to resolve this disagreement and agree terms on which they could all ratify the convention. Conventions must be ratified in each

parliament before they can come into force.

Before the beef crisis arose, it is understood that a compromise formula was under discussion whereby Britain would agree to opt out of the section of the convention giving powers to the European Court. By agreeing to the opt-out, it would allow the other member states to go ahead.

According to Whitehall sources, Mr Howard is now letting his partners know that the Government will agree to the opt out only after "significant progress" towards easing of the beef ban. Otherwise Britain would refuse to ratify the treaty and Europol could be shelved.

## Hostages tell of deadly jungle ordeal

JOJO MOYES

Sitting in their baggy clothes, pale and subdued at 7am on Sunday, they could have been four students feeling the effects of a good night out.

Only their shadowed, watchful eyes gave any clue that, for Daniel Start, William Oates, Annette van der Kolk and Anna McIvor, yesterday marked, instead, the end of a four-month kidnap ordeal, which saw two of their friends brutally murdered and – it emerged yesterday – came within minutes of costing them their own lives.

Foreign Office minister Jeremy Hanley revealed that following an earlier failed release attempt, the Government believed the British hostages' lives were hanging in the balance.

"They came very close to being killed once negotiations had broken down. There is no doubt that when they were rescued, it was not before time," Mr Hanley said.

The four Cambridge graduates' 129-day ordeal finally ended shortly after 6am yesterday when flight BA34 from Jakarta brought the British members of the original team of 11 young scientists back to Heathrow.

Escorted by Mr Hanley, Foreign Office officials and police, they conducted a brief reunion with their parents in a private room in Terminal One before meeting the press.

Looking pale and thin under the television lights, Annette van der Kolk, 21, and 20-year-old Anna McIvor – who witnessed the murders of their Indonesian friends – chose not to speak. None of the four has yet spoken extensively of the experi-



Back home: The four Britons – (from left) Anna McIvor, Annette van der Kolk, William Oates, and Daniel Start, accompanied by the Foreign Office minister Jeremy Hanley – meeting the press at Heathrow after flying into Britain from Indonesia yesterday. Photograph: Edward Sykes

ences, which are reported to have included malaria, sexual harassment and deep depression.

Mr Oates, 22, and Mr Start, 21, who spoke for all of them, said they were shattered from their experiences but were delighted to be back among family and friends.

There was something touchingly self-effacing and restrained in the two men's statements, in which they joked gamely about the British weather and the prospect of a traditional Sunday lunch.

But they were still patently affected by their ordeal, apparent when they described their despair and fear when a previous chance of release went wrong at

the last minute. Mr Start told how on 8 May the hostages had believed they were to be set free, following extensive negotiations. But 10 minutes before they were to board a helicopter to freedom, they were informed by Kelly Kwalik – the leader of the Free Papua Movement rebels – that he had changed his mind.

"We all went back to the forest in tears. From then on there was no option but for the military to come in," Mr Start said.

In the subsequent shoot-out last Wednesday, when Indonesian troops stormed the separatists' stronghold in the isolated Irian Jaya province, two Indonesian hostages lost their

lives. Witnessed by Ms McIvor, they were hacked to death by the rebels as they clashed with government forces during the rescue.

"We are hurt and in deep shock and sadness at the very tragic and vividly brutal death of our companions," Mr Start said.

Mr Oates touched upon the isolation felt by the four Britons and their Dutch and Indonesian friends, who made up the expedition of young scientists, during their captivity.

"We spent a long time sitting in that forest thinking about the things we missed," he said. They had all been "very, very lonely" but had been heartened by thinking of the people out-

side who were helping them.

He added that they had been treated "extremely well, especially by the local community who made many sacrifices to look after us".

All paid tribute to the actions of the Red Cross "who gave us hope when things were really, really dark".

Mr Start said: "They came into the area on a daily basis in helicopters to very remote villages in very dangerous and difficult weather, and held negotiations and talks with a very tricky bunch of people in which they were armed and generally very threatening and frightening."

"It's great to be reunited with our families. It was their memories that kept us strong. It's a real treasure to have half a year literally in the Stone Age," Mr Start added.

Pleasure over their safe return was tempered, however, by the increasing pessimism over the fate of two Britons – Paul Wells and Keith Mangan – who have been missing in Kashmir since being kidnapped by rebel separatists last July.

Mr Hanley admitted yesterday that there had been "no proof of life" since August.

He insisted that the Foreign Office "hadn't given up hope" but said that it was seriously investigating reports that they may have been murdered late last year.

## Labour plays down gaffe by Meacher

### Damage limitation on Jobseekers' Allowance

DONALD MACINTYRE  
Political Editor

Labour yesterday launched a swift damage limitation exercise over an article signed by Michael Meacher, the employment spokesman, unilaterally committing the party to abolishing the new Jobseekers' Allowance.

In what was at best a highly embarrassing gaffe, the article – in the left-wing magazine *Red Pepper* – went considerably further than party policy by promising that the allowance – which replaces the current system of unemployment benefit from this October – would be scrapped.

Last night, Ian Willmore, Mr Meacher's researcher, said that he had written the article and had submitted it to the magazine without showing the reference to abolition to Mr Meacher before he did so. "It was my fault and it was wrong," Mr Willmore said.

The allowance, which would reduce the period of unemployment benefit from 12 months to six and introduce stringent new conditions to establish that recipients are eligible to take paid work, was strongly opposed by Labour when it went through the Commons.

But it is a highly sensitive issue for the party since replacement would cost a Labour government £240m from 1997, Gordon Brown, the shadow Chancellor, has been resisting efforts by the social security team, led by Chris Smith, to establish a Labour commitment to extend the period for 12 months.

The embarrassment for Mr Meacher was compounded by the fact that he had already upset the leadership by making a speech in Stockholm last week predicting mass job losses as a result of a single currency, which – it is still Labour policy to support "in principle". Attempts to stop Mr Meacher making the speech were aborted when it was discovered that



Meacher: Went further than party policy

he had already given the text to the Press Association.

The Labour leadership – while expressing annoyance that Mr Meacher had allowed the article to go into the magazine – last night accepted Mr Willmore's explanation.

But Hilary Wainwright, the magazine's editor, last night stood by the piece – which she had billed a "rare pledge to reverse a major piece of Tory legislation". She said that she had approached Mr Meacher to write the article and had discussed with him at that stage "the outline of the article as it

appeared". Sources at the magazine also said that after receiving the article she had queried with Mr Willmore whether Mr Meacher had made the commitment before.

Earlier, Labour party managers breathed a sigh of relief when the two-day National Policy forum in Manchester ended without any major rows.

After the tensions of the past two weeks, the leadership had been braced for a backlash, particularly against the plan by Gordon Brown, the shadow Chancellor, to "review" child benefit for 16-18 year olds.

One delegate to the forum said: "There was a feeling that the whole thing had been badly mismanaged and didn't need to have caused the trouble it had." But the principle of the review was approved.

A trade union source said however: "We are waiting until we see the overall shape of the whole package."

Mr Brown addressed forum delegates yesterday and answered questions but appeared to reassure most of the hundred Labour representatives there that his child benefit review had originally been sold to newspapers as an example of a "tough" decision about welfare spending.

Mr Brown yesterday stressed the need to switch resources from 16-18 year olds in private education to the less well-off. He drew attention to the fact that the families of those who leave school at 16 did not get child benefit, and those in families on income support had it deducted from their benefit.

## SIGNIFICANT SHORTS

Police launched a murder inquiry yesterday after a man was stabbed to death in front of his girlfriend during a "road rage" attack on the M25.

An argument broke out between the driver of a Bedford van and a man driving a Land-Rover after both vehicles pulled up along a slip road at Junction 3, near Swanley, in Kent, yesterday lunchtime. The van driver was stabbed and then the Land-Rover driver, described as white and in his forties, drove off in the direction of the Dartford Tunnel.

The victim, who has not been named, but who is believed to be from the London area, was taken to West Hill Hospital, Dartford, but doctors were unable to save him. It is believed that he managed to give a brief description of the attacker and the registration number of the Land-Rover before he died with his girlfriend at his bedside.

Although the junction had security cameras in place, they were not in operation at the time of the incident. Kent police are appealing for witnesses. *Ros Wynne-Jones*

Britain will be urging an end to summer ozone smogs by 2005 at a meeting of environment ministers from eight European countries which starts in London today.

John Gummer, Secretary of State for the Environment, is in his first year, wants them to agree on a target for cutting pollution levels to a point where the eye-itching, lung-irritating photochemical smogs no longer occur during hot, still weather in Europe.

The pollutants come from road traffic, industry and power stations. A complex cycle of chemical reactions driven by intense sunlight leads to the formation of high levels of ozone, which affects some asthmatics and people with other chest problems.

Sometimes half or more of these pollutants originate in continental Europe and drift across the North Sea and the Channel into southern Britain – a phenomenon which the Sun newspaper calls "Frog smog". That is why nations have to act together to tackle the problem.

But UK officials concede that British smogs are largely home grown and sometimes this pollution adds to ozone episodes in Europe. *Nicholas Schoon*

Six teenagers were found last night after going missing for 24 hours during the Ten Tors expedition on Dartmoor. Hundreds of young people were rescued by helicopter yesterday after the expedition was abandoned because of snow and temperatures reduced to sub-zero by wind chill.

The Dartmoor Rescue Group, two Sea King helicopters, a Gazelle helicopter and Army personnel were drafted in to help with a search for 400 teams of six people.

The six walkers, from Bideford College, Devon, had last been seen when they stopped after a day's walking at about 7.30pm on Saturday night. They are aged between 16 and 17 and returned to base camp shortly before 8pm.

It is the first time in a decade that the Ten Tors expedition has been abandoned. The event director, Brigadier John Powell, commander of 43 (Wessex) Brigade, said if the expedition had not been called off lives would have been put at risk.

Last night a spokeswoman for the event said that a number of walkers were being treated for minor injuries, including sprained ankles and mild hypothermia. Two more serious cases of hypothermia were being treated at Dartford hospital in Plymouth.

Around 400 youngsters were still on the moor as night fell. Earlier in the evening a second team of walkers from Truro College were also on the emergency list, but they turned out to be safe and "drinking tea back at base without having signed in", said the spokeswoman. *Ros Wynne-Jones*

Conservative Central Office pressured the Reigate constituency association to delay for as long as possible a candidate selection to decide whether to continue to support Sir George Gordiner as their local MP.

Last Friday, the executive voted 15-14 against endorsing Sir George, and his future will now be put to a special meeting of the whole, 1,200-strong Surrey-based association at the end of June. If he loses, Sir George has threatened to apply for the Chiltern Hundreds – parliamentary shorthand for resigning his seat – and to force a by-election.

Fearful of the danger that threat would pose to their narrow majority, Central Office was arguing as long ago as last November, the *Independent* has learned, for the executive to meet and select this year, so that if Sir George did lose, a by-election would be made impracticable by the proximity to the general election.

A senior Reigate constituency official said last November, "George had been saying should be he deselected he would reconsider his position and letting it be known, privately, that meant the Chiltern Hundreds."

Central Office got to hear of his stance and the local constituency building towards him. Since last November, said the senior Reigate Tory, Dr Brian Mawhinney, the Conservative Party chairman, had been trying to persuade the executive to take its time and not to rush into anything. "Dr Mawhinney was trying to delay the selection issue until such time as the de-selection of George couldn't threaten the Government with the Chiltern Hundreds and there would be no time before the general election," said the senior Reigate member.

He was concerned was Central Office with the crisis in Reigate, that both Dr Mawhinney and Malcolm Rifkind, the foreign secretary, have been to the constituency to make strong speeches in defence of Sir George. *Chris Blackhurst*

British men are the least popular choice of lover for Europeans, according to a survey published today.

Based on the views of 10,000 men and women in 15 countries, the survey by Durex, the condom manufacturers, is a study of European attitudes to sexual behaviour.

The British are the most caring of Europe's lovers, the survey found. Almost half (47 per cent) regard their partner's feelings during sex as a top priority – compared with 22 per cent of German and 36 per cent of Spanish people questioned. British people also lose their virginity at a younger age than their European counterparts. World-wide, Medians emerged as even more considerate, with 50 per cent saying their lover's orgasm was of paramount importance.

At least 100 million men start their sex lives earliest and are most sexually active, having sex 135 times a year against a global average of 100. The least active are the Thais at 64 times a year and Spain at 71 times. *Ros Wynne-Jones*

The Government plans to allow schools to exclude children for up to 45 days at a time, instead of the present 15 days. Ministers hope the move, part of a package of legislation intended to deal with disruptive children, will halt the inexorable rise in permanent expulsions, now more than 71,000 a year.

Schools say part of the reason for the increase is the removal of their power to exclude disruptive children for indefinite periods.

Excluding children for just 15 days, they say, does not allow enough time for the cause of their disruptive behaviour to be addressed. Extending temporary exclusions was signalled as an option last month by Gillian Shephard, Secretary of State for Education. *PA*

## THE INDEPENDENT ABROAD

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# Oxfam challenges high street on exploitation

HEATHER MILLS  
Home Affairs Correspondent

Oxfam is introducing a new concept of "serious shopping" today. Everyone is being asked to ensure that their latest little extravagance or essential was not made with the sweat and blood of exploited workers around the world.

The charity is encouraging shoppers to employ consumer power and ask high-street stores where their clothes are made

and, crucially, how workers' rights and safety are guaranteed.

Research shows that "rag" - suffer some of the worst conditions and abuses, which often lead to poor health. In return for long hours, no job security, intimidation and harassment, many workers remain trapped in poverty on pay too low to meet basic needs.

From Guatemala to Pakistan, Bangladesh to the Philippines, surveys found overcrowded,

noisy, hot, dark and dirty factories. According to Oxfam, workers are sacked and laid off without notice, time off is rarely allowed even for illness, overtime is compulsory and work-related health problems - such as eyestrain, headaches, chest and back pain, respiratory problems and skin infections - are universal. In many countries where there is extreme poverty, children are forced to work in factories.

Oxfam claims that the drive

for cheaper production and shorter delivery times has encouraged human rights abuses of factory workers, and of those who do piece-work at home.

Their treatment by the garments industry is an affront to their human dignity and an infringement of their basic rights," says its report published today.

It says that the power to improve working conditions for the millions employed in the industry rests with the high-street

shops. Oxfam says many have little first-hand knowledge about conditions in the factories supplying their goods. Complex supply chains involving several manufacturers on the way to the stores have allowed exploitation and abuse to go unchecked.

Today, it is calling upon five of Britain's top high-street retailers - Burton's, C&A, Marks & Spencer, Next and Sainsbury's - to say where and under what conditions their garments are made. Oxfam is not accusing any

companies of using sweated labour, only asking them to prove that they have sufficient safeguards in place to ensure that they are not. All five (and some others) were approached by the *Independent* and all were confident that their practices ensured their factories were sound - although not all carried out independent inspections.

Oxfam accepts that many leading retailers are taking steps to guard against exploitation, but says they need to do more.

Its campaign comes hard on the heels of that of another charity, Christian Aid, which recently revealed worker exploitation in the lucrative training-shoes trade.

Oxfam is also calling for independent monitoring of suppliers, as well as stronger international trade and labour regulations to improve the lot of the garment makers.

The charity is, however, anxious that its campaign does not precipitate a boycott or any

hasty action from retailers that could lead to factories closing down altogether or to children - who often support poor families - being thrown out of work. They say that would damage those working in the industry even more.

"Ending child labour requires a long-term strategy aimed at eradicating the conditions of poverty and inadequate employment opportunities for adults which make it necessary," the report concludes.

## Purchasing policies under the spotlight

HEATHER MILLS

The *Independent* put the "Oxfam challenge" to some key retailers, asking where they bought their merchandise and what safeguards they had in place to guarantee workers' rights, health and conditions.

Gap buys worldwide.

It says all factories undergo strict screening to ensure the fair treatment of workers and they are then subject to regular unannounced checks. It employs two senior staff, working full time on human rights, and implements a strict buying code which guarantees rights and conditions.

"We expect workers to be treated with dignity and justice. Anything less than that is totally unacceptable," said Jim Lukaszewski, a spokesman for the company.

Sears - which owns Selfridges, Miss Selfridges, Richards, Wallis and Warehouse - buys from all over the world.

It says it ensures its suppliers comply with local laws and regulations guaranteeing working conditions and health and safety.

"Sears is committed to the goal that goods are sourced from suppliers which comply with local laws and maintain appropriate standards," said a spokeswoman.

Monsoon buys predominantly from the UK, Europe and the Far East.

The company says all suppliers are required to adhere to the company's code of conduct, guaranteeing workers' rights and conditions as well as quality.

In addition, the firm points out that its suppliers are regularly visited by UK and overseas staff.

"Monsoon is a responsible retailer which takes very seri-

ously its role in developing good supplier practice," said a spokesman.

Next buys worldwide.

It says its code of conduct states the company will not deal with suppliers who knowingly compromise the safety of their workforce. They ensure factories are safe, that no child labour is used and production methods are guaranteed.

The Burton group buys worldwide - about one third from the UK.

It says it employs a strict code of conduct which covers workers' wages and entitlements, health and safety, and outlaws forced labour and child labour. Buyers and management visit factories regularly and it will not deal again with any supplier found to be in breach of the code.

"We take the issue of workers' rights and conditions very seriously. We are also part of the British Retail Consortium, which is actively promoting higher standards throughout the industry," said a spokeswoman.

Harrods buys worldwide.

It says that only a very small percentage of its clothing is manufactured specifically for Harrods and it looks to its manufacturers to ensure their business practices are "beyond reproach".

"Harrods would look very poorly upon suppliers who were found to be exploiting their workforces."

"We would welcome and support any initiative which reduce the suffering and hardship

caused by unscrupulous employment practices," said a spokesman.

C & A buys from factories all over the world.

The company has spent the last two years setting up a new auditing company - independent of the rest of the group - whose purpose is to detect and prevent exploitation.

Those factories which refuse unannounced inspections or are found to be employing children, running sweatshops or breaching basic civil and workers' rights, will lose their contracts as a result.

John Greene, head of corporate affairs, said: "We do not want to be part of the problem and we are taking strong action to ensure that we are not. That of course does not address the underlying complex issues - but we do not have a choice, we cannot be seen to be part of the problem."

Marks & Spencer buys 77 per cent of its products from manufacturers in the UK, 11.5 per cent from Western Europe and 11.5 per cent from the developing world.

The company says that "every single factory" used by Marks & Spencer has been visited by a representative who checks on health and safety and working conditions.

Although individual salaries are not monitored, the company ensures pay at the factories "compares well" with local conditions. It is suing ITV's *World in Action* programme over claims made about child labour.

Andrew Stone, joint managing director, said: "Our whole mission has been to ensure the best treatment of everybody connected with Marks & Spencer, from managers and shop staff to customers - and those who make our goods. It is a tradition of which we are proud and which goes back 112 years."



Hard labour: Children drying cloth in Jaipur, India

Photograph: Jeremy Hutton-Sutton

## Where hope begins with slave wages

Tim McGirk in Govindpuri reports on life and work in a sweatshop

A westerner might look upon the dirty lanes of Govindpuri, thrumming with the sound of a thousand sewing machines stitching up the new summer clothes for Britain's shops, as Asian exploitation at its worst.

But Mohammed Hassan - a young tailor who is bent over his machine from 7am to midnight earning around £75 a month - sees it differently. He came to Govindpuri, a slum outside Delhi, from his village in Bihar. It is a wretched place in northern India, cursed by droughts, and where landowners raise private armies to keep their peasants in medieval servitude.

"The earth had grown too hard to plow. I have eight in my family to feed, and the most that I could earn working another man's land in my village was 800 rupees (£14) a month," said Mohammed, one of 25 tailors in sweaty undershirts lined up rows behind sewing machines.

In Govindpuri, Mohammed's life may seem, in a westerner's eyes, to be a pit of misery. But compared to what he has escaped from in Bihar, stitching for 17 hours a day allows him a glimmer of optimism.

Oxfam's campaign to improve working conditions for millions of garment workers around the world by putting pressure on the High Street retailers may be well-intended - but as difficult to define as it is to enforce. By British labour standards, Mohammed is little better than a slave. Yet by Indian standards, he is doing well. He has lifted himself out of poverty and saved his family from starvation. Many in Bihar envy him.

In Govindpuri, nobody forces Mohammed to work. He is paid by the piece, so the more he sews, the more money he can send back to his grateful family.

Lately, he has been stitching pea-green shorts that women in Europe will be wearing on the beach. It is an article of clothing outside Mohammed's cultural realm as to be outlandish; his wife would be stoned by mobs if she wore British High Street chic in Bihar.

C&A, Next, French Connection, Monsoon, Burton, Littlewoods, Harrods and other UK retailers buy garments made in Govindpuri. The British firms can, and sometimes do, ensure that working and safety conditions are adequate in the bigger factories they use throughout Asia. India has strong garment workers unions.

Sitting at his desk behind portraits of Lenin and Ganesh, the Hindu elephant-god, a union boss explained that many export garment factories comply with the government's safety code and pay the minimum wage of £36 minimum a month, for an eight hour day, with Sunday off.

But neither the Indian unions - nor the UK clothing buyers - have any way to monitor conditions in Govindpuri's estimated 2,000 little sewing shops. The big factories cannot handle the huge demand from the US and Europe, so they contract out to shops in the labyrinth of Govindpuri's back alleys.

Meenakshi Mehta, a social researcher, said, "It's not that easy to pass judgement on what are admittedly pretty bad conditions here. But if England starts buying these clothes from India, it will mean that these tailors will be worse off. They'll lose their jobs."

## Shares inquiry targets City firm

CHRIS BLACKHURST  
Westminster Correspondent

One of the City's most respected and powerful stockbroking firms has been drawn into the long-running official investigation into suspected insider dealing in the shares of Anglia TV, which began in February 1994 with the inquiry into trading by Jeffrey Archer, the best-selling novelist and former Tory Party deputy chairman.

Senior former directors of Smith New Court, including one who worked on the bid for Anglia by MAI, the media group headed by Labour peer Lord Hollick, have now been interviewed by the Department of Trade and Industry inspectors.

Sir Michael Richardson, Smith New Court's former head, who now works for Hambro Magan, the specialist corporate finance adviser, said: "I can't talk, because everybody at Smith New Court has had their lips sealed. An undertaking not to say anything was given - in no way can it be broken."

The *Independent* has learned that far from being over, as was widely supposed, the inquiry is still going strong. So far, the inspectors have spent a total of 17 months investigating the market in Anglia shares.

The investigation, which shows no sign of being immediately wound-up, has cost the taxpayer hundreds of thousands of pounds in fees. The inspectors, Hugh Aldous, an

accountant, and Roger Kaye QC, were initially appointed by Michael Heseltine, President of the Board of Trade, to probe the dealings of Lord Archer. That first inquiry ended in July 1994, with a decision to take no action against the Tory life peer.

However, in May last year, Mr Heseltine ordered the inspectors to take another look into Anglia share activity ahead of the company's takeover by MAI in January 1994. He had received evidence that Karen Morgan-Thomas, a former stockbroker and a friend of Lord Archer's, had made £20,000 from Anglia shares.

Smith New Court has since merged with Merrill Lynch, the giant US investment bank. But in January 1994, it was advising

MAI, headed by Lord Hollick, on its plan to buy Anglia.

The ex-Smith New Court director who advised Anglia has been required to furnish the inspectors with diaries belonging to him and his wife. Records of phone calls to his London home have also been examined. He refused to comment.

Lord Archer, whose wife, Mary, was a director of Anglia, bought 50,000 shares in the TV company four days before it announced an agreed bid by MAI. The takeover heralded a spectacular rise in Anglia's share price, netting an instant £77,000 profit on the shares Lord Archer purchased on behalf of an associate. Lord Archer said the second inquiry had "nothing to do with me".

## Celtic melody haunts the Irish

ALAN MURDOCH  
Dublin

It is the great tragedy of the Irish nation that in all of modern Europe, nobody hates them. And so, again, they have won the Eurovision song contest. The Brits, Slovaks, Turks, Germans, and all the rest have someone who will dig them out of a hole with those sweet words, "nul points".

Not so the lovable Irish, with their stack of 12s. Gloom-laden Dublin newspapers on Saturday all correctly predicted the disaster ahead. The *Irish Times* headline read "Ominous signs of Irish song contest win", pointing the way to its fourth victory in five years - and thus traditionally another year as host.

The rest of Europe, according to earlier reports from Oslo, may well be conspiring to keep the contest in Ireland permanently. Continental regulars apparently revel in annual trips to Dublin, saying last week that Ireland has the edge in parties and night-life over such restrained venues as Oslo.

Even the largest television companies are feeling squeezed by the satellite invasion, and footing the IR£3m (£3.12m) bill for Eurovision effectively kills off quality domestically produced drama on Irish television. Not surprisingly, faced with another year of long winter evenings watching repeats of *Taxi* and other United States small-screen antiques, the Irish viewing public are restless.

Liam Miller, director of television programming for Radio Telefís Éireann (RTE) signalled as much in his less-than-rapturous response to the win. In the stoically miserable tones of someone just told he is buying a round of drinks for 100 people, he declined to confirm that next year's event would be held in Ireland.

"It's another challenge to us. It's one we're going to have to consider very carefully," he said cautiously, adding it would be two weeks before a decision was made.

He will also be aware that the one good economic reason for winning - the chance to run a two-hour holiday promotion - now looks hollow. The tourist industry is now overheating,

with hotels in prime locations from Dublin to Killarney booked solid for months ahead.

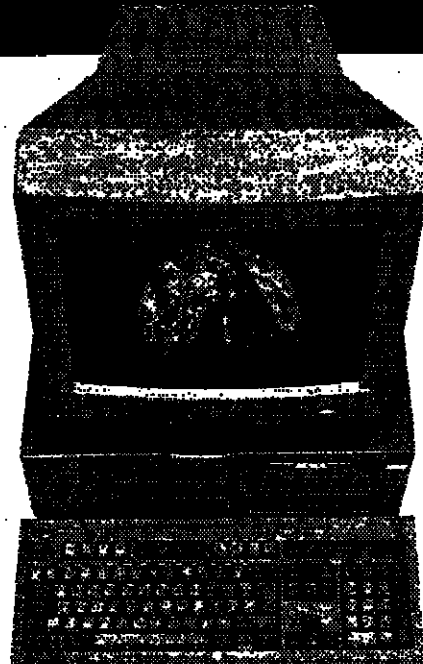
RTE faces vocal pressure at home, with the press hammering its feature output, citing an epidemic of bland phone-in and studio-based shows. What stings most is that these attacks come from some formerly among its major talents, such as Gerry Stemberger, theatre producer, film director and one-time satirical thorn in the sides of the country's politicians.

Ireland's other problem is that even its amateurs are better than the rest of Europe's professionals, so when a mere second-year student such as Eimear Quinn takes to the stage she romps home 48 points ahead of the field.

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## news

# Three killed in Belfast shooting

DAVID MCKITTRICK  
Ireland Correspondent

Three people died in a Belfast shooting incident at the weekend when an off-duty member of the security forces shot two men and then turned the gun on himself during a domestic row.

The man first shot and seriously injured the mother of his four-month old twins in the early hours of Sunday. He then killed two men who were with her in her north Belfast home before shooting himself dead.

Last night the woman, Gina Blair, a mother of four young children, was described as seriously ill but stable in a Belfast hospital. She was shot in the face in the incident.

The gunman, a full-time member of the Royal Irish Regiment, was the father of the twins, but the couple lived apart. The chain of events began on Saturday night when the couple met in a local club and had a row.

He was ejected from the club and Ms Blair later went home with a female friend and two men whom they had met at the club. Already in the house were Ms Blair's brother and his girlfriend, who had been baby-sitting, while the four children – the twin girls and two boys, one and two – were upstairs asleep.

In the early hours of Sunday morning it appears that the RIR man telephoned the house and threatened to kill everyone in it. At this point police were called to the house. They spent half an hour talking to those inside, then left to try to trace the RIR soldier.

A complicating factor arose at this stage when a mob of around 30 loyalist youths from the Tiger Bay district burst through the peace-line and attacked homes and cars owned by Catholics nearby. Windows in houses and cars were smashed.

About 20 minutes after the police had left Ms Blair's home the off-duty soldier arrived there, kicking open a door and shooting her in the face. Apparently believing that she was dead, he then shot the two men dead before killing himself. The other adults in the house were unhurt, and the children upstairs were uninjured.

A relative of Ms Blair's said: "They seemed to be getting on OK, but he had been on the telephone threatening to shoot her. Nobody can take it in. There might have been far more dead. He must have gone crazy. He kicked the door in and that was that. It's a nightmare."

One neighbour said that police could have done more to avert the tragedy, but the relative said: "There is no point in blaming the police. They did what they had to do, but somehow at the back of your mind you wonder if there was nothing else which might have stopped this."

Sharon Remwick, 33, a neighbour, said: "Everybody is stunned, just dazed. The girl was devoted to her children. She doted on them."

"She moved in just before Easter... We knew the boyfriend didn't live there, but he called every so often. She kept herself to herself. It's such a shame, and you have to feel for the poor children."

The Royal Ulster Constabulary said yesterday: "After spending more than half-an-hour with the occupants, and having given her specific advice, the officers returned to the station and took immediate steps to try and trace the man and to make other inquiries."

"The man was not at the house at any stage when the police were present. Inquiries were still under way when he arrived at the home with the tragic results we all now know."



Reunited: Nerfisa Kadric with two of her children, Elvis and Elvira

Photograph: Justin Slee/Guzelian

## Briton jailed after reuniting Bosnians

PATRICIA WYNN DAVIES  
Legal Affairs Editor

A humanitarian mission to reunite a separated Bosnian family in the United Kingdom has ended in what is believed to be an unprecedented nine-month jail term for a British man.

Barrie Goforth, 49, who had previously helped Bosnian Muslims to seek refuge in Britain, was stopped by immigration at Dover in November after taking a hire car to eastern Germany to reunite Nerfisa Kadric and her 11-year-old daughter, Elvira, with her husband and two elder sons, who have been living here for three years.

While Mrs Kadric was released from detention the same night and allowed to apply for permission to stay, the Crown Prosecution Service sent Mr Goforth for trial at Canterbury Crown Court which handed down the sentence for

facilitating the entry of illegal immigrants a fortnight ago.

His wife, Katherine, said from her home in Hull: "He has been sentenced as though he was someone doing this as a business, for money, when it was for wholly humanitarian reasons."

Mrs Kadric, who is living in Hull with the three children but speaks no English, is believed to have tried to return to her home town of Zvornik, now in Serbia, but was driven back and made her way to Germany.

Her husband, Ibro, came to England with their two sons, Elvis and Emir, in 1992 with a group bound for Scarborough, North Yorkshire. He later moved to Hull where a Bosnian community had become established and was put in touch with the Goforths last May after unsuccessful attempts to raise the family's plight through official channels.

On two earlier trips to the former Yugoslavia, Mr and Mrs Goforth hired coaches to return with more than 78 Bosnians who applied for refugee status on their arrival in Britain. They took their cue from Gerald Smith, a headmaster who was the first man to undertake a mission to bring refugees to Britain in hired buses.

Mrs Goforth said: "We had seen the newsreels, we had seen what was happening, the ethnic cleansing against the Muslims. It seemed like Hitler and the Jews all over again. We decided to do something."

Mrs Goforth said that, on the earlier occasions, immigration had been warned and had provided temporary documents.

But a visa requirement has since been introduced.

She insisted that her husband brought Mrs Kadric and her daughter into the country with the intention of declaring them to the authorities, although she accepts he broke the law. "Technically yes, but we naively thought that we could explain to the immigration authorities that this was wholly for humanitarian reasons. We were reuniting a separated family. They had contact only through telephone calls that left the children in tears."

The affair has since been further complicated by the separation of the Bosnian couple, leaving Mrs Kadric to care for the children alone.

Mr and Mrs Goforth, who have three children, believed the case would be dealt with at the magistrates' court but the CPS got it committed to the Crown Court, where the maximum punishment is 7 years. "I have been advised that while Barrie could have expected a prison sentence, it should have been suspended, or he should have got community service," Mrs Goforth said.

Her husband, currently in Standford Hill open prison in Kent, wants to apply for bail pending an appeal that the sentence is too harsh, but has been advised by a solicitor that a £5,000 surety is likely to be demanded. "We just don't have that kind of money," she said.

## Low-pay bosses 'get tax subsidy'

BARRIE CLEMENT  
Labour Editor

There are now twice as many low-paid breadwinners claiming family credit to support their children than there were five years ago, according to a Labour Party analysis of official figures.

During that period, there was a £21 increase in average weekly payments – £15 more than the amount needed to keep pace with inflation.

The figures reveal the increasing extent to which taxpayers are forced to subsidise some employers who are maximising profits by minimising wages, according to Ian McCartney, Labour's employment spokesman.

Family credit has cost £6.3bn over the past six years, or £250 for every one of Britain's 25m taxpayers, Mr McCartney was told in a parliamentary answer by the Department of Social Security.

Mr McCartney said the bill had rocketed by 244 per cent in five years and was set to increase to more than £2bn a year. He pointed out that it came on top of the estimated £500m paid out in other benefits, including help with housing and council tax payments as a consequence of low pay.

Mr McCartney said the figures demonstrated the need for a national minimum wage which Labour was committed to introduce.

"It is typical of the Tories that they oppose a national minimum wage to stop the exploitation of low-paid workers and the taxpayer by some cowboy employers, while defending the fat-cat utility bosses who earn more in one hour than thousands of people earn in six months."

Average weekly family credit payments rose from £30 in 1990-91 to £51 in 1995-96 – an increase of almost 70 per cent. Over the same period, inflation increased by 19.5 per cent, Mr McCartney pointed out.

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The man, the message: Professor Ahmed outside Selwyn College last night before his ground-breaking sermon

Photograph: Rob Howarth

## Anglican service hears Muslim preacher's plea

ANDREW BROWN  
Religious Affairs Correspondent

The first British Muslim to preach at an Anglican service last night used the occasion to make an impassioned plea for mutual tolerance and understanding.

Forces of hatred and intolerance were to be found both in the West and among Muslims, said Professor Akbar Ahmed, of Selwyn College, Cambridge. He was invited by the Dean, the Rev Nicholas Cranfield, to preach at evensong yesterday, despite the evangelical protest that greeted a similar invitation to Crown Prince Hassan of Jordan in Oxford last year.

"The generalised and intense contempt of the Western media towards Islam pushes many Muslims into an anti-Western stance. It also makes the Islamic concept of *Jihad*, usually translated as meaning Holy War, in essence a peaceful one," he said.

"It was explained by the Prophet as the attempt to control our own base instincts and work towards a better, more harmonious world. The lesser *jihad* is to battle physically for Islam: that, too, only against tyranny or oppression."

Professor Ahmed told the

congregation that he was doing his Islamic duty to proclaim God. "My Muslim friends warned me that given the vast chasm of misunderstanding between Islam and the West, the general suspicion, the ignorance, and the high emotions around religion, some Muslims may spread the rumour that Akbar Ahmed has not only con-

gregation that he was doing his Islamic duty to proclaim God. "My Muslim friends warned me that given the vast chasm of misunderstanding between Islam and the West, the general suspicion, the ignorance, and the high emotions around religion, some Muslims may spread the rumour that Akbar Ahmed has not only con-

Then, in a clear reference to the attempts to expel Saudi dissidents from this country, Professor Ahmed added: "These days I often wonder what the fate of those earlier Muslims would have been if Michael Howard had been waiting for them in Abyssinia."

Understanding between Islam and the West will be crucial for peace in the next millennium, Professor Ahmed said, yet both Muslims and the Western media contrived to distort the message of Islam when it came here.

Western children should be taught a basic understanding of Islam in their schools, he said. By the same token, Muslim children should be taught about democracy in their schools, too. "Islam has much to offer a world saturated with disintegration, cynicism, and loss of faith."

'Islam has much to offer a world saturated with disintegration, cynicism, and loss of faith'

verted to Christianity, but even begun as a priest and taken services. Before Fatwahs start flying about, let me scotch the rumour. I am here very much as a Muslim," he said.

Professor Ahmed pointed out that the elements of mutual trust and respect in Muslim-Christian relations went right back to the beginnings of Islam: "When Muslims were being persecuted in Mecca in the early days of Islam, the Holy Prophet sent them to the Chris-

## Car makers blocking pedestrian safety bid

CHRISTIAN WOLMAR  
Transport Correspondent

A project to redesign cars in a way that would make them less of a threat to pedestrians, helping to reduce the 700 deaths and 20,000 injuries across Europe each year, is being blocked by car manufacturers.

Researchers at the Transport Research Laboratory in Berkshire have been working on the scheme since the mid-1980s. They have calculated that modifying the design to ensure that the front of all cars crumple on impact with pedestrians would be worth seven times more in terms of lives and injuries saved than the actual cost of implementing the changes. Under Department of Transport calculations, a life saved is worth just under £1m.

The design of the cars would

have to be changed in order to give more room under the bonnet so that the outside shell could "give" when a pedestrian was hit. With current designs, the location of the engine often prevents the bonnet from crumpling.

The Government has been at the forefront of pushing this new legislation at European level and has paid for most of the research and the cost of developing tests to assess different car types. But other countries with major car industries have been reluctant to support it because of the alleged cost to manufacturers.

The research suggests that it would be easy to make the necessary changes to all mass production levels, but some top of the range cars – such as Rolls Royces and Jaguars – might have to be given exemp-

tions. One additional advantage to the scheme would be that the special bumpers added to many cars would make them more resistant to minor knocks in car parks and other confined spaces.

The TRL has calculated that the cost of modification would be around £11 per car, but the manufacturers, represented at the EC by the ACEA – the Association des Constructeurs Europeens de L'Automobile – argue that the cost would be many times greater and would outweigh the benefits from casualties saved.

A source at the Department of Transport claimed that the manufacturers' calculations are based on very pessimistic views of the value of the measures, faulty population projections and a gross overestimate of costs.

There appeared to be a breakthrough earlier this year when the European Commission finally drew up a draft directive for consideration by member states. Graham Lawrence, the TRL researcher who has been working on the project since its inception, said: "We were delighted that at last the Commission had taken this important step."

However, at a meeting of a technical committee at the European Commission in Brussels earlier this month, pressure from the manufacturers forced the Commission to call for a new cost-benefit analysis – despite the fact that TRL had already carried one out.

Now, according to a European Commission source, "nothing is likely to happen for years and hundreds of lives will be lost".

## Heart surgeon rewrites the rules in journey to 'uncharted waters'

A surgeon in Bristol has performed a pioneering operation – involving the removal of part of the heart – that could provide a lifeline for many severely ill patients.

The technique, in which tissue is cut out of the heart, is called Left Ventricular Reduction and overturns the canon of cardiac surgery that healthy muscle should not be removed.

Professor Gianni Angelini, the British Heart Foundation Professor of Cardiac Surgery at Bristol University, has performed five of the operations on patients who were terminally ill. The procedures were the first to be carried out in Britain.

Conventional surgery, including heart transplants, were not an option for the patients at the Bristol Royal Infirmary, who were hardly able to walk and had extreme breathing difficulties. Three of the patients survived the operation and were

New 'downsizing' technique could provide transplant alternative. Paul Field reports

able to go home in considerably improved health, although one died months later due to causes unrelated to the surgery.

Of the two patients who did not survive, one died of kidney failure and another from a surgical complication.

One of the survivors is Gary Payne, 50, an estate agent, from Lichfield in Staffordshire. After suffering three heart attacks in 1994, Mr Payne was given six to 12 months to live. His GP referred him to Professor Angelini, who convinced him to opt for the experimental technique. "I was under no illusion at all about what he was going to do. He was most emphatic that it was high risk and extremely adventurous surgery," said Mr Payne.

The operation has largely

frees him from severe angina pains, extreme breathlessness and tiredness. "I am still being treated for some residual pain and cannot work because of stress. I believe I have a better future now. Downsizing the heart is not a miracle cure, but there is no doubt it does improve quality of life."

It takes around two hours from the first stroke of the surgeon's scalpel to the sealing of the wound. A heart-lung machine is used while the heart is exposed. The surgeon cuts into the left ventricle, the main muscular chamber of the heart, which accounts for two thirds of the heart's volume.

Disease can stretch the walls of the ventricle, increasing its overall volume and making the heart work harder. The surgeon

removes a piece of the ventricle, – then stitches and reinforces the cut, reducing the volume of the ventricle by 30 to 40 per cent. In most cases, the mitral valve is replaced with a mechanical alternative.

The new operation has advantages over heart transplants in that it is cheaper, quicker and requires less after care. There are only 400 heart transplant operations in Britain each year, although there are thousands of patients on the waiting list. Professor Angelini hopes the new technique could offer an alternative.

He said: "It is high-risk pioneering surgery and we are in largely uncharted waters. However, it has enormous potential for greater numbers of patients than heart transplants."

The groundbreaking work features in the BBC Television's *QED* programme on Wednesday.

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## news

**Train service:** Passengers' watchdog criticises managers for complacency, hastily made changes and excessive safety emphasis



David Bertram: Strong argument for saying that privatisation has had a negative impact. Photograph: John Houlihan/Guzelian

## Rail privatisation 'will never benefit' users

CHRISTIAN WOLMAR  
Transport Correspondent

Rail privatisation has yielded no benefits so far and it is doubtful it ever will, according to the new chairman of the rail passengers' watchdog.

In an interview with the *Independent*, David Bertram, who took over three months ago from Major-General Lennox Napier as chairman of the Central Rail Users' Consultative Committee, said: "Lots of the improvements which are promised would have happened anyway. British Rail was already introducing better customer service such as free tea and coffee in First Class and improving its performance generally."

He said that, so far, "there was a strong argument in saying that privatisation has had a

negative impact". He cited how a railway worker on a station with a stuck train would not be able to talk directly to the signaller at the end of the platform because they work for different companies. "The man on the station has to go to head office of the train operating company, which will contact Railtrack and then go back down to the man in the signaller's box. As a result, it takes longer to get things moving again when things go wrong because of the separation of the companies".

He feels that railway managers have, in the past, been complacent: "Virtually everyone using the railway has an alternative choice. Even commuters can often use cars or buses. There is no captive market for the railways."

He criticised the rush in

which privatisation was carried out: "They hurried it through. They should have looked first and followed the motto, 'first do no harm'." He is worried that extra layers of bureaucracy have been created with little benefit to the passenger.

Mr Bertram, who lives in Doncaster where he is the chairman of the local NHS Trust, arrived half an hour late for the interview, having been delayed by a broken rail on a crucial part of the East Coast Main Line track, near Welwyn: "I worry about whether these things are increasing. It is down to Railtrack, and already there has been that problem over the tracks out of Euston." (The Health and Safety Executive issued an enforcement notice against Railtrack earlier this year because of the dilapidated state of the track.)

The state of the West Coast Main Line is of enormous concern to CRUCC and he intends to campaign to ensure that improvements are brought about. "The state of the line is a disgrace and Railtrack does not seem to be doing much about it." He recognises there is a need for a total overhaul and that there are debates over what technology should be used but says: "Perhaps Railtrack is

going about it the wrong way. Every day that the line is not improved means that the eventual investment will cost more."

Mr Bertram has also been angered by the introduction of a bus service between Newark and Lincoln for InterCity East Coast rail users by the new franchise, Sea Containers. "Why didn't they try to improve the train service between the two stations instead, rather than bring in buses? If I were Central Rail users [the local train company], I would be jumping up and down about it."

Mr Bertram, a retired manager who spent his working life in sales and quality control, receives £7,800 for the two day per week role as chairman and was previously chairman of the Eastern consultative committee.

Mr Bertram thinks that there has been too much emphasis on rail safety without consideration of the cost: "If as much attention were paid to accidents on the roads, they would close them down every time there was a shower and you couldn't see through the spray." He reckons that many of the safety features introduced recently, such as much stricter rules about who is allowed on to the track have contributed to the poor performance of the railway.

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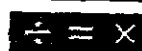
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## EU 'failing' to meet targets on pollution

NICHOLAS SCHOON  
Environment Correspondent

The European Union will spectacularly fail to keep its promises on fighting global warming, according to estimates from the Paris-based International Energy Agency.

At the Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit, exactly four years ago, the union's 12 member states committed themselves to stabilising their rising yearly emissions of carbon dioxide at the 1990 level by the year 2000.

Carbon dioxide is the most important of the pollutants which trap heat in the atmosphere. It is produced by burning coal, oil and gas and during cement manufacture.

The European Commission projects the EU will break that promise, with emissions 3 per cent above the 1990 level by the turn of the century. According to the International Energy Agency figures, the promise will be broken by 15 per cent.

The commitment was made by all developed nations as part of a climate protection treaty signed by nearly 200 world leaders in Rio.

For the EU it was a collective goal which remained in force when the union expanded to 15 states last year. While some of the poorer, still-industrialising member states, like Greece and Spain, would increase their annual emissions during the ten years, the other, wealthier ones would compensate by dropping theirs.

Each country was required to submit estimates of its projected carbon dioxide emissions to

the Commission. Taking these at face value, the EU as a whole would drop its emissions by 1 per cent.

But the Commission now projects a 3 per cent increase, because it feels some member states were making unrealistic assumptions.

The projections were compiled and analysed by the London-based Association for the Conservation of Energy, a lobbying organisation for fuel-saving industries. Director Andrew Warren said: "Anyone who thinks Europe is going to hit its target is showing a triumph of hope over experience."

The International Energy Agency's projections were based on figures submitted by energy and trade departments of governments. The figures sent to the European Commission come from environment departments.

"I think we're seeing optimism from the environment departments and realism from the energy ones," said Mr Warren.

The most impressive emission cuts will come from Germany and Britain, according to the figures. The UK Government forecasts a 6 per cent cut over the 10 years.

For years the European Commission debated a "carbon tax" on fossil fuels which would apply across the EU as a key means of cutting emissions. But the proposal was stalemated, largely because of fierce opposition from Britain, which viewed it as an attack on national sovereignty.

Change in annual CO <sub>2</sub> emissions			
Percentage change between 1990 and 2000			
What each country forecasts	EU estimates	IEA figures	
Austria	8	9.8	
Belgium	3	13.7	
Denmark	7	7.9	
France	33	25.5	
Germany	13	11.5	
Greece	10	3.0	
Ireland	19	21	
Italy	25	20.4	
Luxembourg	6	13.8	
Netherlands	20	28	
Portugal	0	3.7	
Spain	36	40.3	
Sweden	23	24.1	
UK	6	4.1	
	-2	0	
All 15 together	3	9.5	

Source: European Commission, IEA, Association for the Conservation of Energy.

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# Female deaths may be linked to serial killers

JASON BENNETT  
Crime Correspondent

A national police inquiry, set up in an attempt to track down serial killers, will examine possible links between the murders of up to 220 women who have died since 1986.

Detectives hope to identify common traits in the murders and produce new police guidelines which can be used in future investigations. Senior

officers, representing the 43 forces in England and Wales, will meet at the West Mercia police headquarters in Worcester today to discuss the inquiry, called Operation Enigma.

Agents from the FBI, who are expert in hunting serial killers in the US, will assist the project.

The operational team will not undertake murder investigations, but will offer support to on-going inquiries. The initial

investigation follows concerns about the number of unsolved murders of women and fears that serial killers could be operating undetected because of the lack of a central investigation unit in the United Kingdom.

The potential for mass killers was highlighted last year by the disclosure that nine women had been murdered under similar circumstances over the seven years to 1994. Most of the victims were prostitutes and

all had been strangled. They all had some of their clothes removed and the killer made no attempt to hide their bodies.

Senior police officers met in December last year to discuss the unsolved murders, but after an investigation concluded that they were not linked. However, the operation prompted the Association of Chief Police Officers' Crime Committee to set up Operation Enigma.

Taking part in the inquiry are

officers from the newly formed National Crime Faculty, the National Criminal Intelligence Service, the Forensic Science Service, and the Home Office's Police Research Group. They are expected to examine thousands of witness statements, post-mortem reports, victim profiles, DNA samples, clothing and scene of crime photographs from some of the 220 female murders.

The inquiry will be headed by

James Dickenson, the Assistant Chief Constable of Essex, who said: "Operation Enigma will collate and analyse relevant information regarding the victim, the crime and any suspects from a limited number of detected and undetected murders where the victim is female."

The research will determine whether and how the service provided to officers investigating such crimes can be

improved." He added: "For some years there have been arrangements to assist senior investigating officers in conducting comparative case analysis of major crimes."

"Work is currently being undertaken with a view to enhancing existing arrangements. This will take account of experiences within the UK and advances in other countries."

Members of the Operation Enigma team have already been

helped by the FBI, who are experienced in running complex computer programmes and investigations into serial killings, with briefings at the bureau's training centre in Quantico, Virginia.

It is also understood that they have been to Vancouver and Toronto to tap into the expertise of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, who have also been involved in a number of serial killings.

## Prisons suffer severe cuts to classes

HEATHER MILLS  
Home Affairs Correspondent

Prisoners are being denied the chance to learn their way out of a criminal career as governors axe education programmes to meet the Treasury demand for budget cuts.

A survey of the country's 136 jails by NATFHE - the university and college lecturers' union - has found that some of the most volatile prisons are cutting education services by half. Albany high security jail on the Isle of Wight is set to lose 83 per cent of its programme.

The *Independent* has also learned that in Holloway - the troubled women's prison - some of the worst cuts have been forced on it, not by the Prison Service, but by Kingsway College, in North London, which won the private contract to run its education services three years ago.

The college imposed cuts of 17 per cent in 1995 and in March this year ordered another 15 per cent cut - each running alongside the demand by Michael Howard, the Home Secretary, for "austere regimes" which has led to further reductions in classes and activities.

A leaked section of the interim report by Sir David Ramsbotham, the Chief Inspector of Prisons who recently walked out of Holloway in disgust at the conditions he found, found that teaching staff were "marginalised, demoralised and grossly undervalued".

He also found that classes were constantly being cut because of shortages of prison officers and in the three weeks before his inspection the library had closed because staff were on other duties.

Sir David concluded: "This was the worst treatment of an education department and teachers I have seen in 34 years of involvement in education."

Hilary Beauchamp, a teacher at the jail for 20 years, who was awarded an MBE for services to creative arts at Holloway, said: "We were abandoned from two sides - but the abandonment by the educators was the harder rejection."

Yesterday NATFHE said that faced with an ever-rising prison population as well as shrinking budgets, governors saw education as a "soft target".

The union called for an urgent inquiry into prison education as it revealed that jails were suffering a scale of cuts in just six months equivalent to the reductions due to be phased in over three years in the rest of further and higher education.

According to NATFHE, prison lecturers in all jails now have to decide which inmates will be offered education and turn all others away.

"NATFHE is extremely concerned about these cuts ... for the prison population they will be a setback for rehabilitation and the prevention of reoffending," its report concludes.



Flying the flag for art: A young visitor enjoying the giant flags set up by Angus Watt on a remote peninsula at Kielder Water in north Northumberland, close to the Scottish border. Watt's installation, *Inflagrante Delicto*, is part of Visual Arts UK Year. Photograph: Ted Ditchburn

## MPs bid to scrap limits on control of media

DONALD MACINTYRE  
Political Editor

Virginia Bottomley, Secretary of State for National Heritage, is striving to face down a Commons attempt to raise or scrap the threshold preventing media groups with more than 20 per cent of the newspaper market from controlling terrestrial television stations.

Whitehall sources said Mrs Bottomley was determined to maintain the threshold in spite of the opposition of an alliance between Labour MPs and free-market Tories who are threatening to defeat the cross-media ownership clause of her Broadcasting Bill in committee tomorrow. "She intends to win and believes she will do so," one source said.

Two MPs on the right wing of the Tory party John Whittingdale and Peter Atkinson, have tabled an amendment seeking to scrap the threshold, leaving it up to the Independent Television Commission to decide whether any bid above the 20-per-cent threshold is in the public interest.

Labour propose lifting it to 25 per cent. This would allow Mirror Group Newspapers into the non-cable, non satellite television market. But Labour have also submitted an amendment to lift the threshold altogether, which would allow Rupert Murdoch's News International to enter the terrestrial television market if he could show it was in the public interest to do so.

The two Tories will risk their posts as parliamentary private secretaries if they persist with the amendment, although Labour sources were optimistic the minority parties would support them. Robert MacLennan, the Liberal Democrat MP in the standing Committee, refused yesterday to disclose how he would vote.

One area of compromise could be an offer by Mrs Bottomley to lengthen the time a company would have to divest itself of a stake in television if it had passed the 20-per-cent mark. But she was said to be determined not to make more substantial concessions before the standing committee vote.

Labour is determined that the Mirror Group, part owners of the *Independent*, should be given the same access as rival newspaper companies to the terrestrial television market.

## Bankruptcies blamed on credit card habit

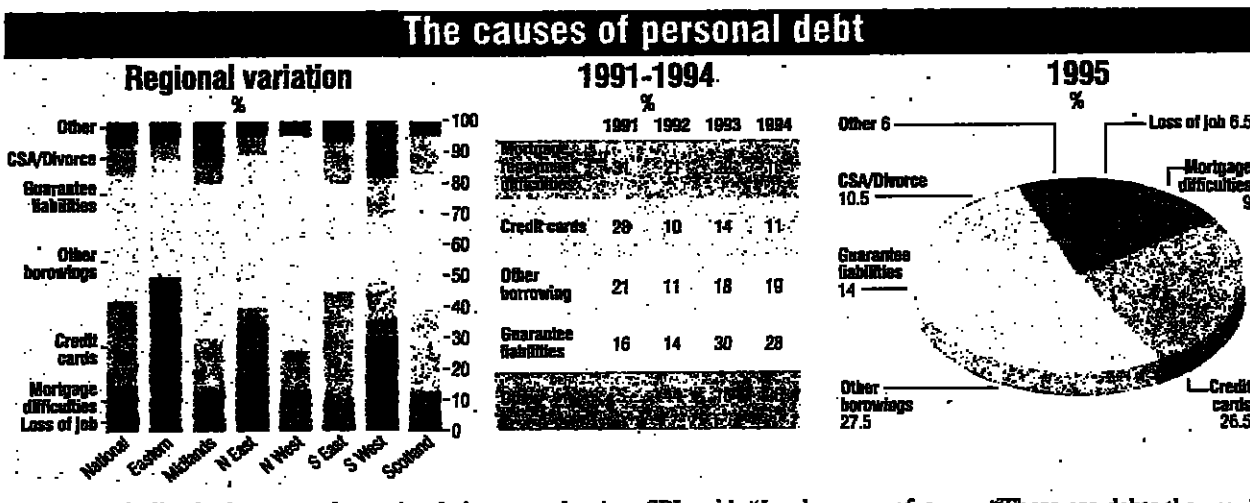
TOM STEVENSON  
and JOHN WILLCOCK

Mr Micawber didn't have a flexible friend but he knew a thing or two about the misery they are capable of. He would not have been surprised by new figures showing that more than a quarter of all domestic bankruptcies are blamed on the profligate use of credit cards.

The Child Support Agency would have been a novel concept to his Dickensian mind, but probably not the news that a tenth of personal insolvency cases brought last year cited the cost of divorce, or the payment of child maintenance, as a major cause.

Statistics from the Society of Practitioners in Insolvency (SPI), published today, paint a bleak picture of a nation which is unable to kick the borrowing habit. Almost two-thirds of last year's non-business-related bankruptcies were the direct result of consumer credit.

Credit cards and other types of borrowing, such as hire purchase and unsecured personal loans, were blamed in more than half the domestic cases. The rise in consumer borrow-



ing offset a decline in the proportion of people brought down by the cost of paying their mortgage or giving personal guarantees to business loans.

The decline in mortgage-related bankruptcies is a continuation of a marked decline in problems related to home loans since the survey was first conducted in 1991. Only 9 per cent of domestic bankruptcies were blamed on mortgage bills compared with 31 per cent in 1991 when interest rates were more

than twice their current level. The CSA denied the charge that it was driving absent parents into financial difficulties.

"Like any other organisation responsible for enforcing legal or financial responsibilities, the CSA can enter people's lives at difficult times. However, absent parents will always be left with at least 70 per cent of their net income after paying maintenance."

Commenting on the results, Gordon Stewart, president of

SPI, said: "Insolvency professionals have long been aware that marital and family breakdown is a common consequence of an individual becoming insolvent."

"The survey shows that the opposite is also true - people who are already facing financial difficulty can become insolvent, because they haven't made allowance for paying maintenance to former partners and children on top of their other debts."

"These are debts they can't avoid. Even if they enter insolvency proceedings, the courts will still require absent parents to meet their responsibilities."

Although consumer credit has emerged as a dominant cause of domestic bankruptcy, business reasons still account for two-thirds of personal insolvencies. Within the business category, the tax man and the inability of small-business people to put enough aside for the annual tax demand are

confirmed as the most likely reason for individuals to be swamped by debts.

Bankruptcy petitions by the tax authorities have always accounted for a large proportion of personal insolvencies, partly because, unlike many other creditors, they have the resources to pursue debts regardless of whether it makes commercial sense to do so.

Within domestic bankruptcies, marked regional differences emerged last year, with individuals in Scotland and the Midlands proving worse at managing their money and businesses than elsewhere. More than 34 per cent of business-related insolvencies in the Midlands were caused by tax and VAT debts, compared with 21 per cent nationally. The figure for Scotland was 27 per cent.

In the South East more people came to grief with credit cards than any other cause. Redundancy lay behind almost a third of bankruptcies in the South West while half of all problems in East Anglia were caused by mortgages. In the North West, hire purchase and unsecured personal loans accounted for half of all cases.

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## news

# Infectious diseases re-emerge as threat

GLENDIA COOPER

The world is facing a crisis over infectious diseases which kill at least 17 million people a year, the World Health Organisation warns today in its 1996 report.

"Fatal complacency" means that diseases once thought to be subdued – such as tuberculosis and malaria – are fighting back, and other infections are now so resistant to drugs they are virtually untreatable. Nearly 50,000 people a day are dying, often from diseases that could be prevented or cured for as little as a dollar per person.

At least 30 new infectious diseases have emerged in the last 20 years including HIV/AIDS (which 26.6 million adults could be living with by 2000) and Ebola fever, which was fatal in 80 per cent of cases when it struck in Zaire in 1995. The WHO also notes that "fears are growing of a possible food-chain link between bovine spongiform encephalopathy and a form of the incurable Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease in humans".

Migration, global travel, and rapid population growth mean that disease-producing organisms are being transported from one continent to another. In March, the WHO and Unicef declared as an international health emergency the diphtheria epidemic sweeping the independent states of the former USSR. Europe now accounts for 80 per cent of the world's diphtheria cases.

The number of registered cholera cases in the WHO's European region also increased ninefold from 1993 to 1994. Tuberculosis strains resistant to drugs are increasing, and the number of cases of malaria, a nearly forgotten disease in 1980s Europe, has risen sharply. In Britain, there have been 25 cases of diphtheria imported between 1990 and 1994, and nearly 40 cases of imported cholera from 1993 to 1995. Tuberculosis has remained constant at around 5,500 to 6,000 cases a year.

Until recently, antibiotics were regarded as the solution to many infectious diseases, but they are becoming less effective as resistance to them

spreads. All bacteria possess an inherent flexibility to evolve genes that render them resistant to antibiotics. But because they have been used by too many people to treat the wrong kind of infection, that resistance has speeded up.

"The implications are awesome," says the report. "Drugs that cost tens of millions of dollars to produce and take perhaps 10 years to reach the market have only a limited lifespan in which they are effective. As resistance spreads, that lifespan shrinks; as fewer new drugs appear, the gap widens between infection and control."

Successes for the WHO include polio, which has been dropped 85 per cent since 1988, and eight out of ten children worldwide are now vaccinated against six major childhood diseases. But without concerted global action, the success in completely eradicating smallpox will not be repeated, the organisation warns.

"Despite the emergence of some 30 new diseases in the last 20 years, there is still a lack of national and international political will and resources to develop and support the systems necessary to detect them and stop their spread. Without doubt, diseases as yet unknown, but with the potential to be the Aids of tomorrow, lurk in the shadows."

Hiroshi Nakajima, director-general of the WHO, identified a number of priority areas. He said extra resources must be mobilised to eliminate illnesses such as polio and guinea-worm disease; surveillance and control of infectious diseases must be improved; intensive research into new and emerging diseases, and ways of controlling them, should be encouraged; and public education in food and personal hygiene practices should be intensified.

"Today, infectious diseases are not only a health issue; they have become a social problem with tremendous consequences for the well-being of the individual and the world we live in," said Dr Nakajima. "We need to recognise them as a common threat that has been ignored at great cost for too long and to build the global solidarity to confront them."



Family pride: Sheila Leeson, Arthur Wharton's great-grand niece, at his unmarked grave in Edlington, South Yorkshire Photograph: Joan Russell

## Forgotten grave of football's first black star

REBECCA FOWLER

A campaign has been launched to honour the memory of the world's first professional black footballer, who is buried in an unmarked pauper's grave.

Arthur Wharton was spotted in 1886 by Preston North End when the club was gathering pace as a force in British football. He impressed the club with his astonishing speed – he became the first man to officially run 100 yards in 10 seconds – but was actually signed to play in goal for the FA Cup.

The team, which was the first to pay its players against the strict amateur laws of the day, reached the semi-finals of the competition though Wharton

did not play for them again. He went on to play for Sheffield United and Rotherham Town in the late 1880s and 1890s.

Despite his achievements he sank into obscurity and was buried in the unmarked grave in a cemetery at Edlington, in South Yorkshire, in 1930. The exact plot was recently located by relatives. Sheila Leeson, his great-grand niece, who lives beside Rotherham United's ground, said: "It saddens me that he had a pauper's grave because knowing what a great sportsman he was, I feel there should be some recognition. It would be marvellous if we could manage to raise the money."

The campaign has been set up by Football Unites Racism

Divides and Sheffield Youth Services, who hope to raise £1,000 from supporters of the game to honour his memory.

Phil Vassili, a social science lecturer researching black footballers in Britain, said: "Like so many other black footballers and athletes, he has just been forgotten. He got picked because of his ability, but once his career was over he lost out on the recognition a white player of the same achievements would have received."

It emerged that Wharton came to England from a wealthy family of missionaries in West Africa, to study at a Methodist college. His athletic talents emerged while he was studying and he became the

first man to officially run 100 yards in 10 seconds at the Amateur Athletics Association championships in 1886.

Although he was known nationally for his athletic talents, Wharton made his living playing football until 1915 when he played his last game. He then became a haulage worker for a Yorkshire colliery before his death from cancer.

Mr Vassili added: "His story was also one of downward social mobility. His family were wealthy and he was sent here to follow in the footsteps of his father, who was a missionary. He intended to return to the Gold Coast but he never made it back. Instead he became a forgotten black man in Britain."



Wharton: Was signed by Preston for FA Cup games

## Labour left seeks 1922-style group

COLIN BROWN

Chief Political Correspondent

The bickering inside the Labour Party has led to demands by some left-wing MPs for a 1922-style committee to represent backbench opinion.

The growing dissatisfaction with the way the Parliamentary Labour Party is being run was intensified last week by the manoeuvres to scrap the Shadow Cabinet elections before the general election.

Some Labour backbenchers believe that a 1922-style body would allow them more freedom to express unrest. They want a new body to represent their views to the leadership, rather than allow the leadership

to manipulate them. Their opportunity to demand the change came last week after a consultation letter was sent to MPs by Tom Sawyer, Labour's general secretary, announcing that four task forces were being set up to reform party machinery in preparation for government.

Mr Sawyer said the task forces would examine: the national executive committee; the links between the leadership and the party in power; widening democracy to involve all members in consideration of policy; and building a mass membership.

In his letter, Mr Sawyer said: "The NEC believes that this work is of the utmost importance in our preparation for gov-

ernment and believes that we need to use all the experience that is available to us, including learning from our own past."

Behind the consultation is a far-reaching proposal to rob the NEC of much of its policy-making powers, and return it to its original role as a management body, dealing in party administration.

Tony Blair, the Labour leader, has almost absolute control of the NEC but, in government, the leadership is acutely aware that it could become a focus for policy battles. Mr Blair is determined that a modern Labour government should keep those battles inside Cabinet, once the policy has

been agreed through the wider membership.

The first step towards reducing the power of the NEC over the framing of the manifesto is the consultation exercise seeking the approval of the whole party for its policy platform. The "Road to the Manifesto" exercise will be voted on at the October party conference. The Labour leadership is determined to defend it on the grounds that it is widening democracy.

However, some on the left believe the reforms being raised by Mr Sawyer may be used further to isolate the left wing. That is why they are now pushing for a more effective backbench body. Unlike the present FLP,

it would not include Cabinet ministers.

Conservative MPs may find it amusing to see Labour trying to ape their backbench "trade union". Many complained that their views were being manipulated last year after Sir Marcus Fox, the 1922 Committee chairman, said its executive unanimously supported John Major in the leadership election. A small number of the executive supported John Redwood.

The 1922 Committee takes its name from the meeting at the Carlton Club on 19 October 1922, when Conservative MPs decided to fight the following election as a separate party rather than in alliance with the National Liberals.

## Doubts cast over timing of breast surgery

Women under the age of 50 who undergo breast cancer surgery in the second half of the monthly cycle, which has generally been considered safer than the first two weeks, could be exposing themselves to unnecessary risk.

Research presented yesterday at the American Society of Clinical Oncology in Philadelphia overturned the common belief that days 15-32 of the menstrual cycle are best for cancer surgery. The research, among 716 women who had not reached the menopause, showed that those operated on in the second phase of the cycle were almost twice as likely to experience a recurrence than those operated on during days 1-14.

Almost a third of women who underwent surgery in the second half of the cycle relapsed, compared to 19 per cent among those operated on in the first two weeks. Day eight was calculated as the optimum time for breast cancer surgery by Professor Mark Norman Levine of the Ontario Cancer Foundation, Hamilton University, and the National Cancer Institute of Canada Clinical Trials Group.

Obstetrician Patricia Braly, of Louisiana State University, told the conference, attended by 14,000 cancer specialists: "In contrast to other studies, this is the first to show that there is an increased risk of breast cancer recurrence if surgery is performed during the latter part of the menstrual cycle."

Swings in hormone levels through a woman's cycle are thought to account for variable success rates in treatments, but the researchers did not advocate major changes in surgery at this time. Prof Levine said it was "premature" to suggest that breast surgery could be best performed at any specific moment.

A British cancer specialist, Dr Vivien Bramwell-Wesley, at the Regional Cancer Centre in London, Canada, said a trial of about 800 patients randomly allocated for surgery at different stages in the cycle was imperative to settle the debate. "It could be tough to organise because surgeons have strong opinions on when to operate and patients have strong opinions too."

Dr Bramwell-Wesley said the conventional view that days 15-32 of the cycle were safest was based on the observation that hormones were less active at that stage.

Young cancer cells which were not removed during surgery were disturbed in the operation – possibly by anaesthetics – and encouraged to spread. "The cells that have been disturbed may be given an environment in which they can spread and resettle."

But the view that the body was less likely to encourage the spread of cancer cells late in the cycle had now been thrown open to question, Dr Bramwell-Wesley added.



## Hunt begins for Lake District's elusive carpet moth

NICHOLAS SCHOON  
Environment Correspondent

The netted carpet moth gets some of its name from the distinctive network pattern on its forewings, and not from any propensity to chew rugs. There are several species of carpet moth, so-called because early naturalists thought they looked like exotic eastern carpets.

In Britain, this particular species is now found at just 11 small sites in the Lake District and two in north-west Wales. Its

population is known to have plunged in the past 15 years.

The inch-wide moth's misfortunes are connected with the decline of the only plant on which its caterpillars can feed, yellow balsam or touch-me-not.

The adults do not emerge from their chrysalis until July, then they mate and lay eggs. This timing ensures that the young caterpillars can eat the plant's growing seeds within their pods: a rich source of protein. They are also disguised as these pods to avoid being eat-



Heritage of the wild

en by birds.

In the autumn the caterpillar becomes a chrysalis, and remains one through the winter and deep into the next summer.

Its food plant, *Impatiens noli-tangere*, is a knee-high annual which likes wet ground and just the right quantity of shade. It is an opportunist which grows

on bare earth or broken ground in woodland, beside roads, streams, seepages and lakes. It cannot face much competition from other plants.

Several factors have knocked back the balsam: streams drying up or being diverted and road widening and maintenance destroying its habitat. The abandonment of regular, rotational tree cutting and thinning in woodlands has allowed the plant to be shaded out.

The huge numbers of tourists to the Lake District have also

done it harm, trampling on it around footpaths, car parks and picnic sites.

Last week, the Government endorsed a rescue plan for the moth and 115 other rare or fast-declining plant and animal species. The plans were drawn up by conservation experts from the Government and wildlife charities.

The objective in this case is to identify the insect's precise habitat requirements by the end of next year and to ensure that, by 2000, all the habitats

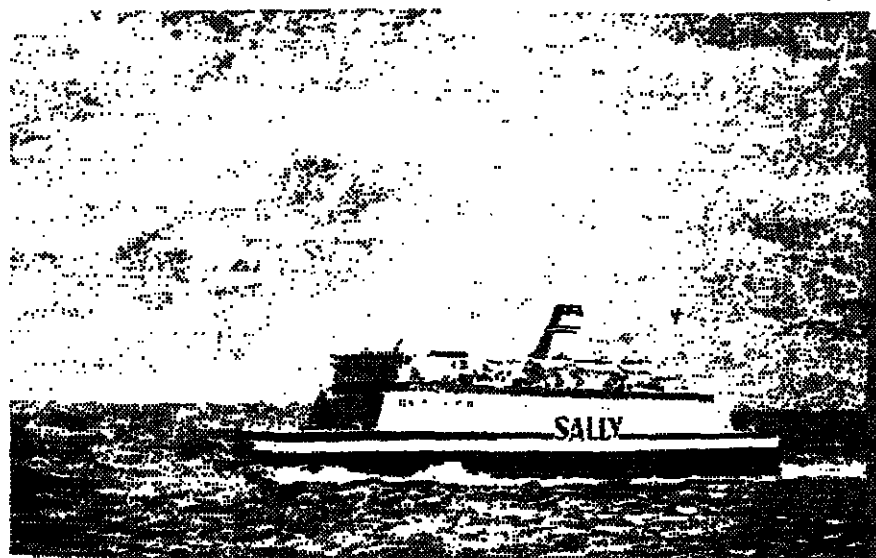
which it could exploit are managed in a moth-friendly way.

A start has been made. Butterfly Conservation, a wildlife charity, is collaborating with the Government's English Nature wildlife arm, Lancaster University and the National Trust, which owns most of the sites where the moth is still found.

Together they are carrying out research, hunting for its haunts and managing the right sort of habitat in ways that will encourage plant and insect to thrive.



Netted carpet moth: Its sole food source is vanishing



Self Portrait

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## international

## Dwindling diaspora fails to keep the faith

## A community of fate

Jerusalem — The historian Jacob Talmor called the Jews "a community of fate"; the philosopher Martin Buber called them "a people with a memory". As their traumatic 20th century nears its end, the memory is fading, and the community outside Israel is withering away.

The demographic debate is no longer between optimists and pessimists, but between the less pessimistic and the more pessimistic. European Jews, already decimated by the Holocaust, have slumped from more than 3 million to barely 2 million in 30 years. In Britain the total has eroded from 400,000 to 300,000. The only countries where Jewish births exceed deaths are Israel and the 700 proud Jews of Gibraltar.

Where there has been any growth in recent years, it was a product of inward migration: North African Jews to France and Quebec; Russians to Germany; Russians and Israelis to the United States. In the opposite direction, Israel exerts a steady pull on the more committed. The ultra-Orthodox are the only Jewish group still having large families.

"We are fighting a losing battle," David Harman, director of Jewish education in the Jewish Agency, which links Israel and world Jewry, told the *Independent*. "There will not be significant Jewish communities in Europe in the early part of the next century. In the US, they will meander a little longer because of the sheer bulk involved. In the former Soviet Union, they have one Jewish birth for every 11 Jewish deaths. Latin America may hold out for a while."

In *Vanishing Diaspora*, a new history of European Jewry since 1945, Bernard Wasserstein concludes: "We are witnessing the disappearance of the European diaspora as a population group, as a cultural entity and as a significant force in European society."

Daniel Elazar, a political sci-

Introducing a series of articles on Jews around the world, **Eric Silver** considers the impact of a declining population



No change: Hasidic Jews in London. Orthodox groups may soon be the only thriving diaspora communities left

Photograph: Tom Piliot

ence professor at Bar-Ilan University, near Tel Aviv, accuses them of exaggeration. Just. "It's a bad situation, but it's not quite as bad as the scare headlines indicate." He speculated that within the next century Jews in North America would decline from 6 million to 4 million; in Europe from 2-3 million to 1-1.5 million; and Latin America from 500,000 to 250,000.

But Professor Elazar had little to go on, save a scholarly scepticism about "linear pro-

jections" (the assumption that trends continue in a straight line) and a faith in Jewish bloody-mindedness. "People in general, and Jews in particular," he suggested, "are full of surprises."

Maybe, but the evidence is discouraging. Jews are condemned less and less to be outsiders. The barriers are coming down, and the Jews are scrambling over. Taboos against "mixed" marriages are withering on both sides. And Jews, like

their peers in the professional and commercial middle class, are breeding less.

According to Jewish Agency estimates quoted by David Harman, there are only 1.55 million Jewish children of school age (5-18) in all the countries of the diaspora. Of these, 1,150,000 are in North America, 400,000 in the rest of the world. The total diaspora is about 10 million. "This is a population," he said, "that is not being replenished."

In the US, studies suggest that

52 per cent of marriages involving Jews are mixed. In Britain, rabbis and lay leaders acknowledge that the rate is at least 30 per cent. Some put it nearer 50 per cent. In 83 per cent of US mixed marriages, neither partner converts to the religion of the other. Only 6 per cent of the non-Jews now convert to Judaism, while 11 per cent of the Jews "convert out".

Diaspora leaders, like the British Chief Rabbi, Jonathan Sacks, have tried to shock their

constituents with the question: "Will we have Jewish grandchildren?" Spurred on by Israel, they are launching ambitious "Jewish continuity" programmes. But they are starting from a narrow base; there is not enough money, and much of their appeal falls on deaf ears.

In the whole of the diaspora, only 45-50 per cent of Jewish children receive any Jewish education. Less than half go to Jewish day schools, few of which take them into the formative

The vanishing diaspora			
	1937	1946	1994
Algeria	90,000	31,000	7,000
Belgium	65,000	45,000	31,800
Bulgaria	49,000	44,200	19,000
Denmark	8,500	5,000	6,400
France	300,000	225,000	530,000
Greece	77,000	10,000	4,800
Ireland	5,000	3,900	1,200
Latvia	95,000	\$	18,000
Netherlands	140,000	28,000	25,000
Romania	850,000	420,000	10,000
Sweden	7,500	15,500	16,500
Turkey	50,000	48,000	18,000
Yugoslavia	71,000	12,000	3,500
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,644,100</b>	<b>3,896,350</b>	<b>1,980,900</b>

Note: These figures, collected from many sources, are of varying reliability and in some cases are subject to a wide margin of error and interpretation. This warning applies particularly to the figures for 1946, a year in which there was considerable Jewish population movement.  
 \* Total for Czech Republic and Slovakia.  
 † Total for former Yugoslavia.  
 ‡ Baltic States included in USSR between 1941 and 1991.  
 From *Vanishing Diaspora* by Bernard Wasserstein

## Would-be killer angry at Israel deal by Turkey

HUGH POPE  
Istanbul

A deranged 48-year-old pharmacist who pulled a pistol on Turkish President Suleyman Demirel to protest against a military co-operation agreement with Israel was being questioned yesterday about his possible links to Turkey's radical Islamic fringe.

Ibrahim Gumrukcuoglu had taken aim at Mr Demirel on Saturday as he stepped down from a podium after making a speech at a shopping centre in Izmit, an industrial province 80 miles east of Istanbul.

"Suddenly I saw a gun barrel. I threw myself straight on it and the gun went off. If I hadn't jumped the president would have been hit," said Sukru Cukurlu, Mr Demirel's chief of security. The bullet passed through Mr Cukurlu's upper arm, went past the president and lodged above the knee of a press photographer.

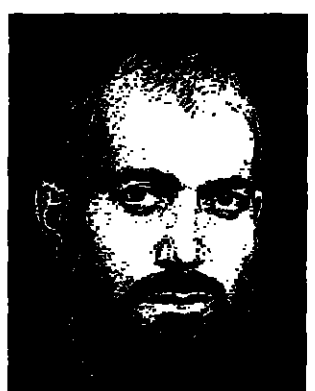
As calls of concern poured into the president's office — notably from Israeli President Ezer Weizman — investigators were looking into some extraordinary lapses of security.

The first question was how a formal gun licence came to be issued to Mr Gumrukcuoglu in 1993. His record showed him to have been medically certified as deranged, convicted of firing an unlicensed weapon in a built-up area, declared persona non grata by military rule authorities in 1983, known to have knifed two leftists during his 1970s student days and convicted of killing his nephew 25 years ago.

The second puzzle was how he came to get within three paces of Mr Demirel after apparently joining the crowd at the roof-raising ceremony.

A third line of inquiry is looking into the would-be assassin's possible links with Islamic extremists, although deputy prime minister Nahit Dentese said initial questioning had found no links.

Mr Gumrukcuoglu told police he had intended only to "fire in the air" to protest at a Turkish military training agreement with Israel signed in February. The accord, among other exchanges, allows Israeli and Turkish warplanes to train for four weeks a year in each others' countries, but only by day and without armaments.



Foiled assassin: Ibrahim Gumrukcuoglu (left) and his target, the Turkish president Suleyman Demirel

This first major military co-operation accord between Israel and a Muslim country has been virulently attacked by radical Islamist publications and the pro-Islamist Welfare Party, since December the biggest single group in the parliament.

A copy of one such newspaper, *Akai*, was found in Mr Gumrukcuoglu's village house. He had set up a "mess" chapel in his basement. With a full beard and Ottoman-style baggy trousers, Mr Gumrukcuoglu looked the picture of a provincial Islamic fundamentalist.

Records of this former government employee showed that he turned to religion after his two-year-old son drowned in a well. He had in the past received extensive treatment for alcoholism and apparently suffered from bone marrow disease.

Turkish media quickly folded the story into a scene of general political uncertainty that has brought the centre-right coalition government so low that one



of its senior ministers, Rusdu Saracoglu, admitted last week that it was simply not working. Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz has now virtually accused his partner, True Path Party leader Tansu Ciller, of stealing more than \$5m of secret funds. And last week, the constitutional court annulled the vote of confidence that brought them to power in March.

Gungor Mengi, of the *Saba* newspaper, said: "The attempted assassination should be a warning to all those who are pushing politics into a dead end with useless debates."

The circumstances of the assassination, however, tell the story of a different Turkey. By the time he came to watch the roof go up on a shopping centre in Izmit, Mr Demirel had already opened a new tyre cord factory, a business centre and a municipal building in a rapidly developing province that already has the highest per capita income in Turkey.

## Capture of Hamas 'bomb controller' hailed by army

PATRICK COCKBURN  
Jerusalem

"I cocked my gun," says Sergeant Meiri of the moment on Friday night when a man in a car stopped by his patrol in the city of Hebron ignored requests for his identity card and started to walk away. "I yelled at him again to stop and then I saw him draw a gun. I did not hesitate for a minute. I shot at him from a distance of 40-45 metres."

The man disappeared down an alley. Half an hour later Israeli troops raided the Alia hospital in Hebron where they identified a badly wounded man with a bullet in his back as Hassan Salameh, a military leader of Hamas, the militant Islamic movement. Israel says he is the man who organised three suicide bomb attacks in Israel in February and March which killed 43 people.

His capture comes at a convenient moment for the government. In 10 days it faces an election in which the overriding issue will be its ability to provide security to Israelis. "This relieves the pressure," said Shimon Peres, the prime minister, yesterday. "This man really was a ticking bomb." It is also relevant that Israel has postponed the partial withdrawal of the

army from Hebron until after the elections.

The army was also eager to highlight its success though frustrated by its inability to hold a press conference until the end of the Sabbath in order not to offend religious Jews. Dusk fell on Saturday at 8.11pm, an inconvenient time; the main Israeli television news begins at 8pm. But at the instant the Sabbath ended, Brigadier General Uzi Dayan, the military commander of the West Bank, announced to viewers: "We've settled the blood feud."

By the army's account 25-year-old Hassan Abd al-Rahman Salameh, born in Gaza, joined Hamas at an early age during the Palestinian intifada in which he threw stones and disposed of collaborators with Israel. Briefly arrested in 1992 he went to Syria and Sudan where he received training, some of it from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. In 1994 he returned to Gaza and joined the Izzedine al-Qasim brigades, the military wing of Hamas.

Salameh only became important in January this year when he was sent by Mohammed Deif, the head of Izzedine al-Qasim, to the West Bank to organise suicide attacks.

He recruited Jamil Abu Warda, a student teacher from al-Fawwar refugee camp near Hebron, who in turn found three young men willing to carry out the suicide attacks. In a space of less than two weeks two buses were destroyed along with their pas-



Wounded: Hamas military leader Hassan Salameh

sengers on Jaffa road in Jerusalem and a third attack killed a woman soldier near Ashkelon.

Standing in front of maps and aerial photographs of the centre of Hebron, showing the narrow twisting streets, Gen Dayan said the army had no prior intelligence which enabled them to capture Salameh. He hotly denied, however, that it

was a matter of luck. He said: "Salameh's capture was achieved because of our massive, 24-hour-a-day security activity." Asked about the seriousness of Salameh's wound he said coldly: "All I care about is whether or not he can talk."

Gen Dayan was more evasive about the background of the driver of the car in which Salameh was a passenger and in which three pistols, some grenades and a submachine gun were discovered. His name is Rafiq Rajoub, a cousin of Colonel Jibril Rajoub, the powerful head of the Palestinian Preventive Security based in Jericho. Gen Dayan dismissed the Col Rajoub connection, saying he had many relatives. However Col Rajoub's brother and nephew were later arrested.

It is a small boost for the government to have caught the man identified as being behind three of the suicide bombs, but it is doubtful if Salameh was as important as it claims. The military wing of Hamas appears to operate through insulated cells rather than a command structure like a regular army.

Meanwhile the Israeli armed forces are at their highest state of alert ever since the foundation of the state in 1948 in case of an attack before election day

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## IN BRIEF

## Yeltsin tries to cut deal with poll rival

Moscow - Boris Yeltsin said over the weekend that he had offered the market reformer Grigory Yavlinsky the chance to become first deputy prime minister in a future Russian government if he abandoned his own presidential ambitions and helped the Kremlin leader beat off a challenge from the Communist contender in next month's election, writes Helen Womack.

But Mr Yavlinsky was playing hard to get. Mr Yavlinsky, 44, who met the President on Thursday, denied he had demanded any specific post. Rather, he told Ekho Moskvy radio, he had pointed out to Mr Yeltsin policy changes he regarded as essential for the national good. He saw ending the war in Chechnya as the priority. The liberal economist also urged tax cuts and the break-up of monopolies. He called for the sacking of ministers associated with current economic policy and the attempt to bring Chechnya to heel, including the Prime Minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, and the Defence Minister, Pavel Grachev.

The bargaining between Mr Yeltsin and other politicians is likely to continue, probably until the first round of the election on the 16 June. If no candidate wins 50 per cent of the vote, a second round will be held, at which point Mr Yavlinsky and the others may throw their weight behind Mr Yeltsin to save Russia from a return to Communism.

## Russian mafia godfather on trial in US

New York - Federal prosecutors hope the trial starting today of an alleged Russian mafia godfather accused of extorting money from a Wall Street investment firm will expose a much larger web of secrets about Russian organised crime in North America, writes David Osborne.

Vyacheslav Ivankov, 56, arrested a year ago in the Brighton Beach neighbourhood of Brooklyn, otherwise known as "Little Odessa" because of the many émigrés from the former Soviet Union who live there, is believed to be the most powerful Russian mobster to have set up operations in North America.

As well as pursuing extortion charges, prosecutors will try to prove his status as a boss in Brighton Beach's Russian underworld community and link him to crimes including bribery, money-laundering, drug-dealing and murder. "What makes this case important is involvement of members of organised crime at the highest levels," said Zachary Carter, US attorney in Brooklyn.

## Italy rules out corporal punishment

Rome - Rejecting the appeal of a man who hit his 10-year-old daughter with a belt, Italy's Supreme Court has ruled that corporal punishment is no longer an acceptable way to educate children. Italian newspapers yesterday reported on the decision, handed down last week.

The court refused to overturn a Milan appeals court's conviction of the man on charges of improper punishment. The Supreme Court said corporal punishment, like slaps, kicks and hitting with a belt, even when inflicted to educate the child, should not be allowed. The high court was reversing itself on a ruling earlier this year that a group of adults charged with watching over children were not guilty of mistreatment when they disciplined children by blows with a carpet-beater. The court, however, said other means of punishment should have been used.

## French help quell mutiny in former colony

Paris - France said it was protecting its 2,500 nationals in the Central African Republic (CAR) and none had been hurt in a mutiny by local troops in the capital, Bangui. French troops, part of a force based in the former colony, helped to quell the uprising, which killed three people.

It was the second uprising in two months; last month's was over late pay. The intervention is the latest in a series by France in its former colonies in Africa. France has about 1,400 soldiers and airmen in CAR, backed by four Mirage F-1 fighter-bombers and two transport planes. The CAR became independent in August 1960 and suffered a series of military and civilian dictatorships thereafter.

## Bank robber nabbed by the Internet

Miami - One of the 10 most wanted US fugitives was arrested in Guatemala after an Internet user recognised his picture on the FBI's home page. Leslie Isben Rogge, 56, an escaped bank robber, surrendered at the US Embassy in Guatemala City, said Paul Philip, special agent in charge of the FBI office in Miami. Rogge was flown to Miami, where he is scheduled to appear before a federal magistrate on charges of bank robbery, interstate transport of stolen property and wire fraud.

## Call of the wild

Saint-Gaudens - The central Pyrenees has got its first bear in more than three decades: an import from Slovenia. It is the latest experiment in repopulating the wilder parts of developed countries with species that have been driven to extinction. The bear arrived in its new habitat after a 20-hour trip. Nervous and angry, it scrambled out of the cage and into thick forest, where the regional government has designated 35,000 acres of space. Officials are arranging to capture a male mate, also in Slovenia. French authorities passed an accord with 15 shepherds, who will receive compensation if the bears kill any of their animals.



Space mission: The shuttle Endeavour lifting off from Kennedy Space Center in Cape Canaveral, Florida. Six astronauts from a joint US/Canadian project investigating dwindling fish stocks, human bone disorders and birth defects, are to test an inflatable antenna the size of a tennis court and monitor a space aquarium

Photograph: Reuters

US workfare plan: President approves radical Wisconsin scheme to cut payments to jobless

## Clinton aims to slash welfare

RUPERT CORNWELL  
Washington

In a move which could bring closer sweeping reform of the federal welfare system, President Clinton has publicly endorsed a radical "workfare" plan approved by the state of Wisconsin that would scrap the existing system entirely and require every recipient to take a job, subsidised or otherwise.

Wisconsin, a traditionally progressive northern state, has long been in the vanguard of welfare reform. With Washington's approval, 38 of the 50 states are now experimenting. The latest scheme however, White House spokesman Mike McCurry said, was "the most revolutionary of all", placing a limit of five years on the time anyone can receive welfare, and guaranteeing in effect that a person who cannot find a job in the private sector will be given one by the state.

On no issue - crime, education, not even health care - are Americans more convinced that reform is essential than welfare, which featured large in the 1994 "Contract with America" that helped the Republicans win back control of Congress.

Naturally, in an election year, Mr Clinton's offer was laced with politics. By no coincidence he chose to make it three days before Bob Dole, his presumptive Republican opponent, travels to Wisconsin to make a major speech on welfare, which is certain to berate the President's failure to deliver on his highly effective 1992 campaign pledge to "end welfare as we know it".

But once again, in his shift to the centre ground on a variety of social issues, Mr Clinton has neatly stolen Republican clothes, pre-empting Mr Dole

on a theme his challenger was banking on to erode the President's forbidding lead in the polls - no less than 22 percentage points according to a Time/CNN poll this weekend.

Adding to Republican irritation, the scheme on which the White House is lavishing such praise was devised by Wisconsin's Republican Governor, Tommy Thompson, who happens to feature high on Mr Dole's list of possible Vice-presidential running mates. Predictably furious Dole supporters were yesterday accusing Mr Clinton of "cynical deception".

Be that as it may, the President's gambit leaves Congress and the White House with less reason than ever not to come up with a bipartisan deal on welfare reform at a federal level, instead of the piecemeal state-by-state change currently taking place.

For 18 months, they have fenced over the issue as the Republican Congress has passed two reform bills - the first of them with substantial Democratic support - with the aim of cutting welfare spending by \$60bn over seven years, paring back benefits and handing money

previously disbursed by Congress directly to individual states as block grants.

Both measures however were vetoed by Mr Clinton, on the grounds they did not offer adequate child and health-care guarantees for recipients, a large proportion of whom are single mothers living in depressed inner-city neighbourhoods. But, he said in his weekly radio address on Saturday, the Wisconsin scheme did offer these guarantees, it was a "bold, solid reform plan". If Congress sent him a bipartisan plan, "I'll sign it right away".

The measure approved by the Wisconsin state legislature still requires a "waiver" from the Clinton administration before it can take effect. Essentially however, it does away with the \$25bn Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) programme, the centrepiece of US welfare since its introduction in 1935 as part of President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal.

Instead, anyone who seeks to go on welfare would have four choices. He could take a normal subsidised job (provided one was available), or failing that a "trial job" partly subsidised by the state. If that was not possible, the welfare recipient could enrol for community service, to acquire the skills to find a job in the private sector. The fourth option is "transitional work" for people with limited capabilities.

He or she would be eligible for a "job access loan", similar to student loans, to help pay college fees, that would be repaid later either in cash or by voluntary work. Paradoxically, the Wisconsin scheme would not save money, at least at first. Any cuts in benefits would be outweighed by the cost of extra child care to permit a welfare recipient to hold down a job.

## One step too far for British politicians

The Wisconsin proposal is far more extreme than anything yet advocated by any mainstream politician in Britain, writes Nicholas Timmins

The Department of Employment already has limited powers to require attendance of individuals at Job Clubs and other work-seeking measures which will be somewhat strengthened when the new Jobseekers' Allowance takes effect in October.

Labour has also aired limited proposals to require the young to be in work, education, or a government-approved programme for a time.

But full-blown "workfare" - the requirement that benefit will be paid to the unemployed only on condition of participation in a training programme or community sponsored job - has relatively few advocates.

Politicians on both the right and left - including Michael

Portillo when he was Secretary of State for Employment, have resisted the idea of the state becoming the "employer of last resort", on the grounds both of cost and distortion to the labour market.

Providing even limited and voluntary work schemes such as the Community Programme has proved expensive and of mixed impact, they argue - and the cost would be far greater if all the unemployed

were required permanently to be on schemes or in training. And workfare schemes would be likely to displace employees in "real" jobs, they argue.

There will also be considerable scepticism in Britain over whether the Wisconsin programme will fulfil its pledge to withdraw benefit entirely after five years, leaving people to fend for themselves. There would, however, be much fascinated observation of what followed.

## Karadzic defies West by handing power to militant ally

TONY BARBER  
Europe Editor

Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader who is wanted for alleged war crimes, defied Western governments this weekend by restructuring his government in a manner intended to reaffirm Bosnian Serb opposition to the Dayton peace agreement. The shake-up caused Mr Karadzic to relinquish some of his formal authority as president, but it appears unlikely that he is about to drop out of public life altogether.

It seems even more premature to suggest that the West is closer to bringing him to trial by the United Nations war crimes tribunal in The Hague. Moreover, even if Mr Karadzic were to step down in the near future,

there is little prospect that his successors would be any less committed to a policy of militant Bosnian Serb nationalism.

This became clear on Saturday after a pre-dawn meeting of the Bosnian Serb assembly in Pale, where Mr Karadzic secured the appointment of Gojko Kljickovic, a hardliner, as his new prime minister. He later announced he was delegating some of his own powers as president to Biljana Plavsic, an equally uncompromising nationalist.

Official newspapers in Serbia, which have been waging a relentless propaganda campaign against Mr Karadzic, carried headlines such as "Karadzic gone", suggesting he had been forced out of office. But independent political com-

mentators in Belgrade said the reshuffle in the ranks of the Bosnian Serb leadership did not necessarily amount to a loss of power by Mr Karadzic.

"It is not a serious change. I think that Biljana Plavsic, to the extent to which she will substitute for him, is hardly a change. She is very close to Karadzic. They are virtually the same," said Stojan Cerovic of the respected weekly *Vreme*.

"Plavsic often sounded more radical than Karadzic. I think that Karadzic is retaining control and that it is no big concession towards greater co-operation," he added.

Aides of Carl Bildt, the international mediator who is responsible for implementing civilian aspects of the Dayton settlement, contested the view

that the leadership changes meant Mr Karadzic had given little away. "We believe that this is the beginning of the end of the influence of Dr Karadzic on the political scene. Mr Bildt is continuing to ensure that this sidelining of Dr Karadzic is ratified and consummated," Colum Murphy, a spokesman for Mr Bildt, said.

Failure to secure the removal from power of Mr Karadzic would gravely damage Mr Bildt's authority and undermine the Dayton agreement.

The peace terms require Mr Karadzic and other indicted war criminals to give up public office and be turned over to the tribunal in The Hague. But the 60,000 Nato peace forces in Bosnia have not been entrusted with the specific task of

tracking down and arresting the accused men.

Mr Karadzic had stayed largely out of the public eye for several months until last Wednesday, when he engineered the dismissal of his prime minister, Rajko Kasagic.

Mr Bildt and Western governments had cultivated Mr Kasagic as an alternative Bosnian Serb leader, seeing him as a supporter of the Dayton settlement and a relative moderate on the Bosnian Serb political landscape.

His replacement, Mr Kljickovic, made his views clear on Saturday when in his first public statement after his appointment, he said he saw no reason for Mr Karadzic to go on trial. He challenged another key point of the Dayton accord by

ruling out the early return of Muslim and Croat refugees to their homes in Bosnian Serb territory.

Mr Bildt and Western governments have urged the President of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, to help them force Mr Karadzic from power and bring him to trial. The Serbian leader, while no friend to Mr Karadzic, has played his hand cautiously, aware that to sacrifice his former protégé would enrage powerful nationalist forces in Belgrade.

Mr Milosevic has told Western negotiators that they should wait for Mr Karadzic to be defeated in Bosnia's first post-war elections, due in September. However, apart from the fact that the Dayton agreement bars Mr Karadzic from standing in

the elections, the apparent aim of the Bosnian Serb leader is to stop the vote from taking place or, if it does happen, to destroy its legitimacy.

In a foretaste of these difficulties, a European Union official in the divided Muslim-Croat city of Mostar said on Saturday that elections to reunite the city would be postponed from their scheduled date of 31 May. Hans Biechler, legal adviser to the EU mission in Mostar, suggested the Muslims' refusal to field candidates was a reason. The Spanish head of the EU mission, Ricardo Perez Casado, later denied a decision to postpone the vote had been taken. Earlier this month, parties based in Muslim-held east Mostar failed to register by the deadline.



Plavsic: Said to be very close to Karadzic

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# Tibet riots over ban on pictures of Dalai Lama

TERESA POOLE  
Peking

Two violent clashes have taken place in Tibet this month between Chinese police and monasteries over tough new regulations that ban the display of photographs of the Dalai Lama in temples.

In the latest incident on 14 May, up to 80 Tibetans were injured, including many monks and nuns, according to reports from Lhasa. A week earlier three monks were shot and injured during a disturbance at the Ganden monastery, 25 miles east of the capital, and at least 40 were arrested.

The details, obtained by the London-based Tibet Information Network (TIN), are the latest evidence of increased tensions as Peking tries to tighten its hold on the region.

The edict against the display of photographs in monasteries and temples of Tibet's exiled spiritual leader was published on 5 April. Hotels and restaurants were also told to remove the Dalai Lama's picture.

A month later on 7 May, a government work group was sent to Ganden monastery to implement the new regulation. The monks protested. Fighting broke out between the groups, and police were called in. TIN said at least three of the 500 monks at Ganden were shot and wounded, and a fourth is in a serious condition after police struck his head.

The two main monasteries in Lhasa, Drepung and Ramoche, were sealed off by the Chinese authorities to stop the unrest spreading. The main temple in Tibet, the Jokhang, in central Lhasa, staged a one-day shutdown in protest, said TIN.

Details of the latest incident, on 14 May appear to confirm another confrontation over the picture-banning. This information was provided by a Japanese tourist who was looking after his sick American girlfriend at the Lhasa People's Hospital Number One.

At 11.30 that night two truckloads of wounded monks and nuns were brought to the emergency unit, and about 30 women

and 15 men were off loaded under police escort for treatment. "They took the people out of one truck... more than half of them young nuns. Some people were walking, some people could not walk. They were holding each other and some were crying and screaming," said Takeo Fujimoto, who contacted TIN after he reached Nepal. "I am 100 per cent sure that somebody beat them up. It was not like a car accident. Their whole faces were sore and covered with blood, and some people could not move."

The second truck was driven off. "On the other truck I saw some legs hanging out from the back of the truck. They did not move," Mr Fujimoto said. Those taken in at the hospital were mostly monks or nuns but there were also lay Tibetans. "One was a young girl who had been beaten in the face," Mr Fujimoto said. TIN suggested the confrontation took place at a pilgrimage site.

The latest edict categorises pictures of the Dalai Lama as "reactionary propaganda".



If the cap fits: Pope John Paul II has a change of headgear after a three-hour mass in Maribor, Slovenia, yesterday. Photograph: Darko Bandic

## KAMPALA DAYS

## Ghosts that lurk in shadows of hotel's gory past

A journalist I know refuses to stay in the Nile Hotel in Kampala. Too many ghosts, he says. During Milton Obote's reign of terror in the first half of the Eighties, the hotel - then called Nile Mansion - was used by the regime for interrogation and torture. No one knows how many people died or "disappeared" after being taken there. I have no dark memories of Uganda, having visited the country for the first time in 1992. By that time it had been seven years since the overthrow of Obote by guerrilla leader-turned-president Yoweri Museveni, and Uganda was well on its way towards recovery. I remember being struck by the lushness and beauty of the countryside.

On my most recent visit, however, I had no time to travel about and confined myself to Kampala. Untroubled by ghosts and memories of the Obote years, I booked into the Nile Hotel. It has direct dialling from the rooms and other facilities which, after weeks of power cuts and telephone problems in Nairobi, made it seem a pleasant prospect.

The hotel, built in 1967 and refurbished in 1987, is hardly an architectural triumph and the food is less than stunning. But it has attractive grounds and a well-equipped conference centre. It was here that the reception for African heads of state was held after President Museveni, already a decade in power, won a landslide victory in this month's presidential elections.

I had thought little about the hotel's murky past until one day I was introduced to an elderly farmer living near the shore of Lake Victoria. Amid the clucking of chickens, John Mukasa recalled the years of suffering, first under Idi Amin in the Seventies, then under Obote who returned to power in 1980 after rigged elections.

Mr Mukasa had once had two farms north of Kampala in an area which, during the Eighties civil war, came to be known as the Luwero Triangle. It was from here that the Museveni insurgency was launched and it was here that most of the worst atrocities of the Obote regime were committed. By the time of Obote's overthrow in 1985, it was estimated that more than one third of the population of this area had been eliminated.

Those suspected of supporting the guerrillas were viciously hounded. Mr Mukasa's wife was beheaded by government soldiers in 1981 and his brother was shot dead. After two years in exile near London, Mr Mukasa returned to Uganda only to be arrested by Obote's security service which mistook him - Mr Mukasa says - for Godfrey Binaisa who had been president for a short period between Amin and Obote.

Mr Mukasa still bears scars from the torture sessions in the Nile Hotel. His interrogators dripped burning plastic down his right leg to make him talk. Not surprisingly, he has not been back to the hotel since. "The Nile Hotel was a slaughterhouse," I was later told by Brigadier Jim Muhwezi who, as head of internal security, now has an office in the adjacent conference centre. "A number of my friends were interned and died there. It's hard to believe the beautiful gardens were once littered with bodies."

Those days are mercifully past and Kampala is now a model of enterprise. Though the economy is still only at the level it was in the early Seventies, Uganda now boasts the highest growth rate of any African country. The Nile Hotel is full of executives and business people. The basement of the conference centre is no longer a torture chamber, and rooms 211 and 233 are no longer the offices of Obote's dreaded Military Intelligence and National Security Services.

If there are ghosts here they are keeping well-hidden. But I know my journalist friend will not be checking in when next he is in Kampala. Nor will Mr. Mukasa be dropping by for Sunday lunch.

David Orr

## Catwalk queen trades pageants for power

Before 19-year-old Venezuelan Alicia Machado was crowned Miss Universe at the weekend, judges asked her whether it was better to be intelligent, wealthy or beautiful. Looking gorgeous and about to become quite rich, she did not bat an eyelid. "Intelligent, because then you can develop into many other things."

She might have been thinking about one of her compatriots and predecessors. 1981 Miss Universe Irene Saez. At 34, Ms Saez may no longer have the universe at her feet but she is living proof it's not all downhill from the top of the world. She is threatening to become the most famous Venezuelan since the country's 19th century liberator, Simon Bolivar.

The six-foot blonde is in her second term as mayor of the wealthy Caracas municipality of Chacao. She was re-elected recently with 96 per cent of the vote and is now a serious bet for president of Venezuela by 1998.

Ms Saez may have cast off the beauty-pageant image but "Irene" dolls, with cascading blonde locks, hazel eyes, ruby lips and pink lace frocks, are still top sellers, with a 5-per-cent commission augmenting the mayor's salary.

Such is her reputation for running Chacao, a suburb of 185,000 residents, glitzy shops and upmarket restaurants, that the locals refer to it as "Ireneclandia" (Irene-land).

Her secret borrows from Thatcherism and pre-Mandela

### LOCAL HEROES : 17

Irene Saez

South Africa, with a sprinkling of Marie Antoinette. But her constituents like it. In a country where around 60 per cent of voters usually do not turn out, they showed up massively in Chacao to re-elect her.

"No-one here's ever won 96 per cent. It's unheard of," she said. Like Baroness Thatcher, whom she met during her travel year as Miss Universe, she has a tendency to slip into the royal "we" or refer to herself. "Irene Saez has always said..."

"People here didn't use to pay taxes. We showed them what the concrete fruits of taxes can be," she said.

Critics accuse her of a "let-them-eat-cake" mentality, looking after her own patch inhabited by "haves", while ignoring the vast majority of "have-nots". They say Chacao is the richest municipality in the country and that running it is a push-over.

Inside Chacao, however, "Irene" is Queen. Setting up her own police force she has slashed the crime rate and made her municipality one of the few safe districts of Caracas to walk in. Gone are the days when, instead of the wine list, you might be handed a piece of paper saying: "put your cash and credit cards in this bag - now!"

"If I go out to dinner, I don't stop at red lights and I always head for Chacao," said one middle-class resident of another suburb.

Ms Saez has filled in potholes and employed cleaners to keep her district clean. She has set up a team of paramedics to make house calls to ailing or elderly residents and established a local orchestra and ballet school.

She was never a member of any party. With an eye on the presidency, however, she has started her own group. Its title, "Integration, Renovation and New Hope", may be clumsy but then she had to ensure the Spanish acronym was memorable: I.R.E.N.E.

Phil Davison



Whoever: blah, blah black sheep have you any wool

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# It's time the Tories gave the money back

The silence has been eloquent, significant and depressing. We cannot quite believe it. The Conservative Party has a clear-seeming policy about accepting donations. It was repeated yesterday by its chairman, Dr Brian Mawhinney. He said: "we do not accept funds with conditions attached from foreign governments, from anonymous donors and from criminal sources." But a day earlier, our sister paper, the *Independent on Sunday*, had revealed that the party knew nearly three years ago that £365,000 of a £400,000 donation from Asil Nadir, the disgraced businessman, was stolen money. This was not some loose allegation from a hostile journalist or Labour Party researcher. It was hard evidence in a report overseen by a senior partner at Touche Ross, a leading firm of accountants. One would have thought that taking stolen money went against the Conservative policy.

It is genuinely disturbing that the party has done no such thing. The first excuse, made privately to Touche Ross, was that the money had been taken "in good faith". How many people would consider this a decent reaction in their private lives? If the reader had taken a gift of money from a casual acquaintance, which later turned out to have been stolen from a third party, would you keep it, on the grounds that "I never knew"? But we

are talking, of course, not about a private individual, but about the party that has led Britain for many people's adult lifetime. Different standards should apply - higher ones. The second excuse, made to this newspaper yesterday, is that the Conservatives don't accept the connection made by Touche Ross is absolutely proven - but that if it went to court, they would abide by the court's decision. Well thanks a lot. As the party knows full well, the sum of money involved is not considered big enough to warrant the expense of a separate legal action. But the mere fact that the Conservatives are, in effect, saying that they won't hand back stolen money unless dragged through the courts and forced to do so is extraordinary.

Presumably the final line of defence will be that there were no "conditions attached" - the get-out clause carefully written into the party policy. But in the real world, that is not how things are done. There can be few if any shady characters who pay money into a party account in return for a written commitment to build this bypass or change this taxation rule. Even in bad political novels, such attempts to buy influence are represented as acts of delicate innuendo - nose-tapping, discreet-coughing exchanges in the corners of expensive restaurants.

The Conservative reluctance to hand back the Nadir money, and the party's

shameless attitude to the whole subject, provides the backdrop to the other new allegation, the *Sunday Times* report suggesting that Serb businessmen with connections to Radovan Karadzic, who is being sought to answer war crimes allegations, paid £100,000 to the party. At this stage, there are too many unanswered questions for anyone to make a final judgement - we don't know whether the unnamed businessman was a Serb nationalist or just a Serb. If the British Conservative Party really did take Serb-connected money at the height of the war, it would be a national

humiliation. The point is, however, that the Conservatives ask us to accept that they were acting in good faith and, while their own inquiries continue, should be given the benefits of any doubts.

In all honesty, how can they be? It is not as if the Serbian story or even the Nadir story, were one-off events. Let us put this in the kindest way possible: the Conservatives have not been spectacularly lucky in their choice of donors. There was Octav Botnar, the Nissan UK chief who fled to Switzerland. There was Mohammed Hashemi, the Iranian arms

dealer whose brothers were arrested in the United States. There was Kamlesh Patel, wanted by the Nigerian police for fraud. There was Nazmu Virani, jailed in 1994 after being convicted for false accounting in the BCCI affair. And these, remember, are only a few names picked up by the press.

The time has passed when major political parties can be relied on to behave in a proper or gentlemanly fashion. As international business becomes ever more powerful, the need for national politicians to be very careful about their friends and donors becomes ever greater. To date, the Conservatives' stock response has been "we're innocent because we thought we were acting honourably". This is remarkably similar to the stock defence to the charges of misleading Parliament contained in the Scott report - "we didn't believe we were doing wrong, so we weren't". It is laughable, but serious, too. It is the dark fruit of too many years in office, too much power and too much privacy.

In the longer term, reform of party funding should begin by making all donations and loans to political parties matters which must be published. But in the short term there is one thing that the Conservatives should do to begin to clear their reputation in this matter. It is quite simple. It can happen this morning. Let's put it plainly: just give the money back.

## May the V&A boxes tumble and prosper

It didn't take them long. No sooner had the Victoria and Albert Museum unveiled its plans for a remarkable extension, designed by a young American-Polish architect called Daniel Libeskind than the usual suspects got on their soap boxes to condemn it.

In case you haven't seen them, Libeskind's plans are for a building which breaks most boundaries of traditional form. It most resembles a jumble of boxes tumbling down into the pavement, yet suspended in mid-air.

Brian Sewell, the Linford Christie or outrage and indignation, was quick off the blocks. Bemoaning the lack of the comfortable classical logic of columns, pediments and pilasters, Mr Sewell, populist polemicist and sometime art critic, ran it down as "an architectural absurdity masquerading as a museum wing".

If Mr Libeskind is feeling short of friends he shouldn't worry. We think the plans are great and we would love to see his stunning building built. We need more architecture of this kind - the aborted plans for Cardiff opera house spring to mind - not more Sewellian columns.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Labour's Research Fund plans

Sir: The article by Barrie Clement ("Unions fund Labour by the back door", 18 May) is based on a series of factual inaccuracies.

The Labour Frontbench Research Fund (not "Shadow Cabinet Research Fund") has somewhere in the region of £40,000 in it, not £300,000.

It is not a "blind fund". We make public the contributors to it, and the Labour frontbench members who receive funding will declare that fact in the new Register of members' interests.

It can scarcely be used to "disguise" financial support paid by unions since we declare the names of all contributors. As it happens, the majority of contributions so far have come from individual businessmen or businesses.

Of course there would be grounds to object if 90 per cent of the fund came from one source. But it doesn't. The non-affiliated fund of Unions which used to make contributions to research by the Labour frontbench has not contributed to the fund.

The reason there is no entry in the Register yet by individual MPs is that there have been no payments out from the fund yet. As payments are made they will be entered in the Register. The new Register covers the current year rather than the past year.

The real facts are these: the public funding for the opposition frontbench (the Short money) is insufficient to pay for the research the opposition needs to keep the Government accountable. For decades therefore the opposition has had to supplement this with outside funding.

We have altered the way that the Labour frontbench handles its funding to meet the new Nolan rules. We have set up a central Labour Frontbench Research Fund after extensive discussion with Sir Gordon Downey, the new Parliamentary Commissioner, to make sure that it meets all the new rules.

Because we are anxious to ensure full transparency we have gone beyond what Sir Gordon advised us to do by making public the names of all contributors to the fund. We will meet any new rules proposed by Sir Gordon. DONALD DEWAR MP (Glasgow Garcaddan, Lab) House of Commons London SW1

### Time for the millennium

Sir: I am not surprised that the Millennium Exhibition is running into trouble ("An Exhibition of ourselves", 17 May). The problem is not the concept, but the decision of the Millennium Commission to base it around the theme of "time".

The Great Exhibition of 1851 was a showcase for the best of British manufacturing and design. It had no theme as such except that it aimed to show the best of what Britain could produce. It made such a huge impact, partly because it was the first of its kind but also because of Joseph Paxton's pioneering Crystal Palace in which it was housed.

The Millennium Commission cannot expect British business simply to cough up vast sums of money for a vague concept. What

is needed is not for British Telecom to be a corporate sponsor but that they should agree to have a BT pavilion demonstrating the best of British telecommunications and the economic and social benefits they will bring in the 21st century.

The Exhibition should be an opportunity for the best of British design, craftsmanship and the arts to be seen by a world audience. Companies should seize the chance to exhibit their products and their vision in a showcase that millions will visit and that will be reported across the world.

The Millennium Commission should drop the theme idea and raise funds by selling space for pavilions at the site; that way the nation will get an exhibition worthy of the Millennium and businesses a return for their investment.

NICHOLAS KENT London, SE4

Sir: Your article on Greenwich's Millennium plans ("An Exhibition of ourselves", 17 May) neglects to mention the role of the National Maritime Museum and, more importantly, the Old Royal Observatory in the commemorations. While the Museum fully supports the plans for a Millennium exhibition on the Greenwich peninsula site, plans are already well in progress to mark the Millennium in historic Maritime Greenwich, whether or not the peninsula event occurs.

In the Old Royal Observatory, Queen's House and National Maritime Museum, set among 200 acres of Greenwich Park, Greenwich has a spectacular, ready-made site of international

repute for Millennium celebrations. It should also be remembered that the reason for the choice of Greenwich for the national celebrations is the existence of the Prime Meridian, signalling the beginning of the Millennium for the world, by international decree.

Since the Millennium officially begins for the world on the Prime Meridian in the courtyard of the Observatory, the global focus will be on that historic building when the Millennium arrives.

RICHARD ORMOND Director National Maritime Museum London SE10

Sir: You report that in Australia the most popular suggestion for celebrating the Millennium received by a federal government survey is writing local history. That makes an interesting contrast with the British Millennium Commission's view that research on, and writing of, local history for permanent publication is "not of sufficient public benefit" to deserve its support. Can it be that our people, unlike the Australians, have lost interest in their country's past because they fear that it has no future?

C R J CURRIE General Editor, *Victoria History of the Counties of England* London, WC1

Sir: Could you explain why 20 million people should want to go to Greenwich for the Millennium Exhibition and how

they are expected to get there?

Perhaps British business has a point in not being impressed by the proposed content of the exhibition, nor, given past experience, by the likelihood of any major infrastructure project in this country coming in on time and to budget. Dr CELINA FOX London, W9

### Peking stifles democracy

Sir: I commend Robin Cook for his eloquent support of human rights and democracy in Hong Kong. His article ("How to hold China in our hands", 13 May) and his recent visit to Hong Kong demonstrate that Labour is both aware of the concerns of Hong Kong's 6.5 million people and prepared to show leadership in the remaining days until the transfer of sovereignty from Britain to China.

However, one of the central points in Mr Cook's article needs clarification. He states Governor Chris Patten introduced his modest electoral reforms (under which still only one third of the legislative seats - 20 of 60 - were elected democratically) "without even visiting Peking". It is clear that neither secret negotiations nor visiting the Chinese leaders would have resulted in their approval of democratic reform.

Since well before Chris Patten's 1992 arrival in Hong Kong, Peking's objective has been to stifle democracy in Hong Kong. China's intentions today are

equally clear: Peking has sworn to abolish Hong Kong's elected legislature, replacing it with a fully appointed rubber stamp body (which Chinese leaders now say will be operating even before the transfer of sovereignty on 30 June 1997). Had Governor Patten allowed Chinese leaders to vet his reforms before he presented them to the people of Hong Kong, he would not only have doomed democracy before the British departure, but also have given China *de facto* control over all major decisions in Hong Kong before the transfer of sovereignty.

Though China pins the planned abolition of our elected legislature on Governor Patten this is little more than a smokescreen for setting up its own appointed puppet legislature to pass repressive laws in Hong Kong. Otherwise China would be planning to hold elections immediately after assuming sovereignty.

Instead, Peking's appointed, so-called "provisional" legislature will operate for a year or more, with no terms of reference - or real guarantee of genuine elections at any time in the future. MARTIN LEE, QC Chairman The Democratic Party Hong Kong

### Elite universities

Sir: David Walker's article (16 May) correctly identifies a serious problem regarding the funding of research in our universities. Unfortunately, his solution is

simultaneous and a classic example of British short-termism.

Mr Walker correctly concludes that excellence in research is under threat, and he proposes to solve the problem by concentrating funding in perhaps ten elite universities, with the rest receiving little or no public support for research. While this might bring some short-term benefits, the long-term results will be wholly disadvantageous.

The most effective higher education based research engine is clearly that in the US (where there are about 800 "research universities"). This system depends quite explicitly on having a spectrum of activity, from the research-led flagships through many institutions with high levels of activity and pockets of excellence, to many teaching-only institutions. The effectiveness of the system depends on this continuum and the mobility between institutions that it facilitates. We are now moving towards a flexible continuum in the UK, which Mr Walker's approach would destroy.

The only way that we can protect and encourage excellence in UK research is through greater investment.

Professor R W JOYNER Director of Research The Nottingham Trent University Nottingham

### Essential reform of welfare state

Sir: Walter Cairns (Letters, 17 May) perpetuates the myth that

any reform of the welfare state is the same as its abolition. The reality is that the welfare state is in desperate need of reform if it is to continue to service the needs of the people of our country. Those who oppose that reform jeopardise its future.

Chris Smith, MP has consistently stated that the inclusion of those who cannot support themselves in the system is a must for any reform which he proposes. Furthermore, the package of measures which he is beginning to outline are not at odds with Beveridge and would probably be viewed by the Liberal reformer as very generous. For Beveridge, like Chris Smith, felt that it was the outcome, ie the abolition of poverty, which was more important than the means of delivery.

The alarmists who predict the end of the welfare state are correct to guard against those who seek that result, but should not regard every reform as an attack on the institution they honourably defend. IAN CORFIELD Head of Research Fabian Society London, SW1

### Flights of fancy

Sir: The proposed Daniel Libeskind design for the Victorian and Albert Museum ("Fiver-a-head to visit 'exploding' museum", 18 May) resembles not so much a carbuncle as a hideous over-enlarged lump of crystal, unsuited to form a part of the nation's premier decorative arts museum.

The £5 entry fee announced by the museum trustees is yet another nail in the coffin of this country's tradition of free museum entry.

It would be particularly inappropriate for genuine researchers to be charged entry to the renowned print room of the V&A Museum, which also houses the National Art Library.

Excesses such as the purchase of the costly Canova marble, which at present is not even on show at the museum, and the departure in recent years of some of its more learned curatorial staff should not be compounded by the trustees' flights of fancy. ALEC STIRLING London SW11

### Committed fathers

Sir: Anna Coote is right to emphasise the importance to society of encouraging unmarried men to maintain their relationships with their children when they have separated from the children's mother ("Feminists must back fathers", 17 May).

She is wrong, however, to think that there is no existing mechanism enabling such men to acquire full parental rights. Committed and involved fathers will almost always be granted parental responsibility orders by the courts.

The irony is that such orders usually result from applications which are contested by the mothers whereas those parents who wish to enter into parental responsibility agreements without the involvement of the courts find that the Government has recently introduced onerous regulations to be complied with before such agreements become official. LYNN ROBERTS Hodge Jones & Allen Solicitors London, NW1

## the commentators

## The special pleasures of your own agenda

In the age of e-mail and live TV conferences, people are discovering new benefits in meeting face to face

How do we reach out and talk to each other? Successful newspapers connect well with their readers and their readers with each other. The public may be cynical about the press but the relationship between a newspaper and its readers is intense. I should know. While editing this newspaper for its first eight years, I was constantly made aware of readers' feelings by letter, by telephone call and by direct comment at any gathering I attended.

Now, what about the newest medium, multimedia, which some people believe is distancing? I have experienced it at first hand by starting an electronic publishing business, one small enough for me to run from my house. Instead of journalists and printers, I work with interactive designers and programmers. We produce CD-Rom titles and we will shortly publish a pure Internet product. What I particularly like about the Internet, with its discussion groups, chat lines and free publishing, is that it includes people – the computer screen draws them together. I recently engaged in a radio discussion in which listeners put questions and comments both by phone and by e-mail; the two kinds

of talk worked together seamlessly. But it is more surprising, perhaps, that people still love public meetings. As I have discovered, the person who is completely at ease with the Internet and e-mail and telephone conferences is nonetheless quite prepared to attend a meeting in a public hall, just as our Victorian forebears would have done. It was when the *Independent* combined forces with Tony Benn some years ago and invited readers to a committee room in the House of Commons to discuss radical ideas for constitutional reform that I first thought that this appetite might exist. At the time, I wasn't sure that we would attract more than a handful. In the event, 600 people turned up and many had to stand at the back. The discussion was lively: first to speak after Mr Benn was a student who in turn was followed by a retired sea captain.

The clinching evidence is now before us in the monthly meetings that have been taking place since January at the Central Hall, Westminster to discuss London's future, organised by the Architecture Foundation (of which I am a trustee) and supported by the *Evening Standard*. Attendances have varied between 1,500 and 2,500. Again, our first

estimate of the likely audience was much lower – 300 or so. Last Wednesday, when the subject was London's transport arrangements, 1,500 people turned up. The proceedings began at 6.30pm and last two hours. You go after work and you may not finally reach home until well beyond 9 o'clock.

The events that people enjoy attending are invariably participatory, and the new ways of running meetings are built on this insight. Because what the audience may have to say is as important as the points the invited speakers will make, I greatly dislike the traditional format of set-piece speeches from the platform, one after the other, followed by a few questions at the end. *De haut en bas*.

We have avoided that at the Central Hall. Granted, there is still a platform with the main speakers, but contributions from the audience come between speeches and are given an equal amount of time. In this way the expert opinions form a framework for the evening's discussion. But I couldn't persuade my fellow trustees to go the whole way and place all the speakers in the audience with only a moderator on the platform. Perhaps rightly, they



ANDREAS WHITTAM SMITH

In this hall we are equal – the expert and the citizen

demurred. What I was seeking was the feeling that on this subject, in this hall, for an hour or two, we are all equal – the expert and the citizen meet on common ground.

I have found that the most adventurous experiments in helping people to talk creatively to each other are occurring in private settings, rather than public meetings. You may, for instance, be invited to a two-day "let's think about the future" session of your organisation. Maybe you are a senior executive

who expects to be consulted. Maybe you are a junior manager whose opinions are generally dismissed. Maybe you are a shop-floor worker who does not expect to be asked for your opinion about anything. Whatever your status, you will have been told surprisingly little about the event other than its theme or objective – no agenda, no briefing papers.

On entering the room where the session is to be held, you will find that the chairs are placed in a circle or in concentric circles. In the middle, rather than your boss, is a moderator you have never seen before. On one wall of the room hangs a large noticeboard. A number of desks with computers, perhaps 10 machines if there are 200 of you, have been placed to one side. Down a corridor, there will be a number of small rooms that can also be used.

There is no agenda because the participants, sitting in a circle, will be asked to work out one for themselves. Any one of you may suggest a subject and invite interested colleagues to join you to discuss the issue and then write up an agreed version (hence the desk-top computers). You post your agenda item on the board in an empty time-slot, and participants then decide which

working sessions they wish to attend. The self-selected agenda is now being tested in the market place. If nobody comes to the subject meeting that you have proposed, perhaps you merge it with another or conclude it wasn't a very smart idea after all; or, if you wish, you can use the time to write up a proposal on your own.

When, after the two days, these meetings are done, you come together around the moderator, consider what you have achieved and depart with the proceedings of the entire conference in your hand – instant gratification. What are these strange events? They are an American import known as Open Space events; and organisations as wildly diverse as the BBC, the Engineering Council, ICI and the University of Surrey have recently used the technique.

The special strength of the face-to-face meeting, whether public or private, is to release creative energy. What is sought is an almost chemical reaction and a type of catalyst may be needed. It may be that the occasion is a distinct event rather than a routine appointment. You go to a committee room at the House of Commons or to Central Hall,

Westminster, or to a venue away from your organisation's offices.

It is also critical that the form explicitly diminishes or banishes hierarchy; those in authority are constrained to listen as well as to speak. Moreover, the subject itself has to be bold: it is no use having a participatory meeting about a hum-drum problem. There must be a sense in which you are being invited to shape your own future – in my two examples, that of the organisation for which you work or of the city where you live.

There is no reason why the electronic age should be inimical to these sorts of events. Indeed, quite the reverse. The fact that many of us spend our working lives in front of computer screens and then go home and relax with television or even fire up our personal computers and roam the Internet lends piquancy to the revival of the big meeting. It is like the special pleasures of the theatre after regular cinema-going. I am thrilled by what is happening to the television and the computer in the home and new ways of person-to-person brainstorming. But it is the strange revival of the public meeting that particularly captivates me.

## A cowardly business

On the stormy battlefield of Europe where are the captains of industry when they are needed?

At a rain-soaked reception on the House of Commons terrace the other day with the marquee flapping in the wind, the European Movement presented a plucky but somewhat beleaguered spectacle at its annual party. As the Europhobic storm gathers pace, are they ready to fight back?

They are a gentle, sensible lot, a mix of some of the old buffers of all parties who fought the good fight back in the 1975 referendum and keen young people, mainly Labour. But, it must be said, many have the slightly *distrained* air of intellectual Don Quixotes – not the bare-knuckle fighters needed for a dirty fight in the ring with Sir James Goldsmith.

The trouble with these rational Europhiles is that they have drunk deep of the company of the best and brightest of European brains at Anglo-German Konigswinter conferences. The European idea courses so naturally through their blood with



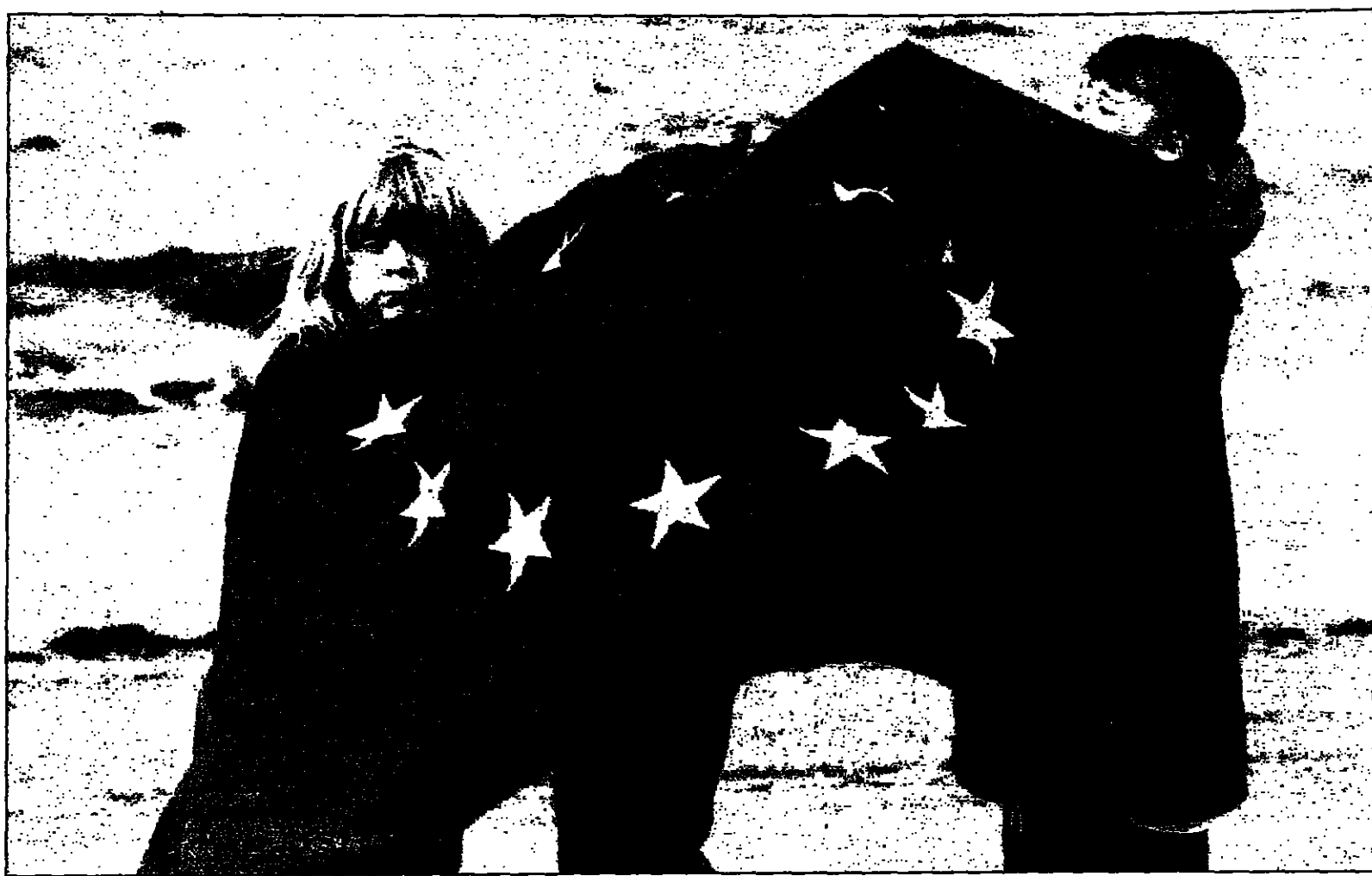
POLLY TOYNEE

the Gewurtztraminer that they may forget the real battle for the hearts and minds of the British voter. After discussing the far horizons in Euro think-tanks, they find it hard to attend to the inane buffoonery of Teresa Gorman, Jimmy Goldsmith and Bill Cash.

Giles Radice, seizing hold of this venerable organisation founded by Winston Churchill, is assembling a credible battle line with cohorts from each party, but this is the only serious, unequivocal, pro-European campaign making the case. The rest is silence.

Where are the big battalions of industry, and where their captains? Strangely mute. Where are all those other forces in British life who know the only future is European? Afraid to speak out. They have yet to mount their campaign. Nor are they funding those who are campaigning. The European Movement has a pathetic £400,000 to compete against £20m in the Goldsmith camp.

As newspapers swell with pages of Goldsmith-backed Europhobic advertising, the European Movement has not the funds to retaliate. Remember this: at the start of the 1975 referendum campaign the public were two-to-one against staying in. By voting day, they had swung round two-to-one in favour. Complacently, pro-Europeans assume the same thing would happen again, whatever the wording may be. But there would be a crucial difference – last time the pro-Europeans had (at present-day



The enthusiasm shown by some on last week's Euro Day is yet to be publicly demonstrated by Britain's business leaders

Photograph: Murdo Macleod

prices) £5.6m to spend on a brilliant, high-profile campaign. The anti-Euro weak and impoverished with only \$600,000 to spend. Money matters.

Virtually all CBI members and leading businessmen believe our future lies only in Europe, and that we must be serious and influential players. With 58 per cent of our exports going to Europe, that is hardly surprising.

Industrialists have in the past two months shown some small signs of awakening from their stupor of cowardice, frightened by the way the Europhobes have been shooting into an open goal. Adair Turner, head of the CBI, has made some rousing speeches dismissing "the little Englander fantasy as a product of cloud-cuckoo land". The CBI has organised a high-profile series of conferences up and down the land, starting in a fortnight, at which big hitters of industry will speak up for Europe.

But British captains of industry remain reluctant to lead from anywhere other than the

reticent rear. They are exceedingly difficult to tempt on to television or to enter the political fray. In Britain they have never taken their proper place as responsible public figures who wield a large amount of politically unaccountable power. In Europe their counterparts play a key part in national life, here they prefer a quiet word in the corridors of power.

Programmes such as the BBC's *Newsnight*, constantly request industrialists to speak on Europe and other relevant political and economic matters, but they usually refuse. "The business culture in Britain puts the interests of their shareholders first, ahead of considerations of the wider society," says Peter Horrocks, editor of *Newsnight*. "They fear being drawn into politics and won't appear on programmes to debate with politicians."

He cites a telling example: a *Newsnight* item discussed a possible successor to the ERM, short of full EMU. The head of Peugeot in France was eager to

explain why he felt Britain's Black Wednesday devaluation had created an unfair advantage for British cars in the French market. But the head of Rover declined to reply.

Adair Turner agrees that it is difficult to get industrialists to

'Business people fear being drawn into politics'

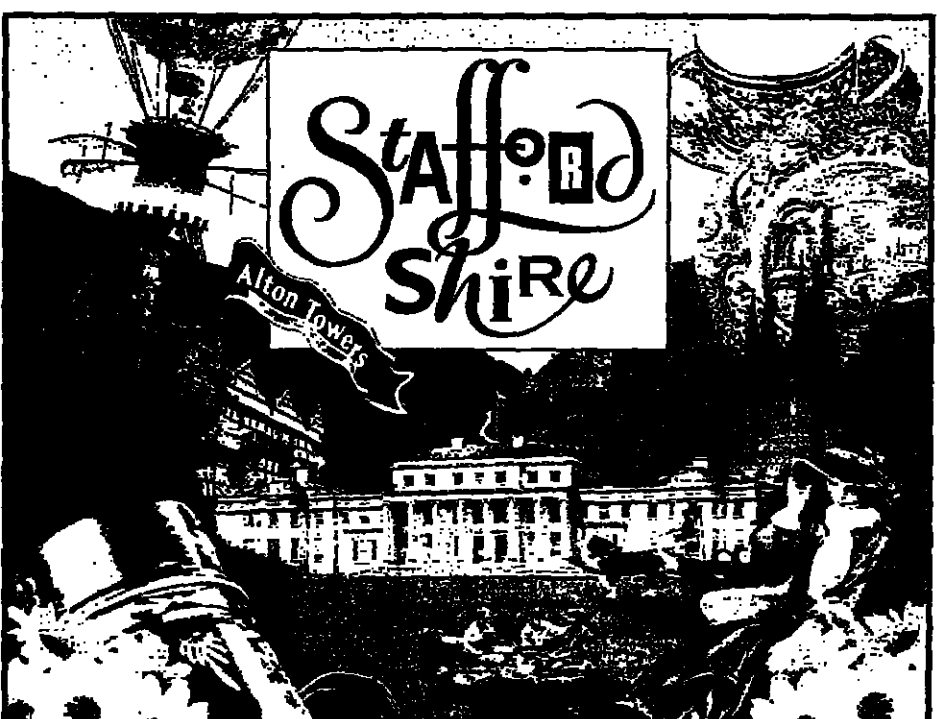
give their views on television. "They had hoped the talk of withdrawal from Europe would burn itself out, but now they see they have to speak up, at least at our conferences." There is another unspoken problem: most industrialists are Tory and are uneasy about widening a rift that may end up destroying their own party. They say, off the record, of course they would speak out if there was a real threat of withdrawal, but not until then.

But business is in the best position to explain about Europe. For example, Turner says, business wants the single market to progress rapidly. That means more regulation, not less. The "bankers' bureaucrats of Brussels" should be urged to press ahead. For British Airways, British Telecom and the energy industries are among those successful businesses still waiting for Europe to abolish unfair state subsidies so we can compete on a level playing field. More regulation often works in our favour, not against. But who is standing up to say so, in ways that the public can understand? Who is buying newspaper advertising space to explain what the single market means? Not those who have the most to lose.

Conventional politics fail on this issue. Every time a Tory pro-European speaks up, they hear the sound of tearing as another rip appears in their party's flimsy fabric. Not surprisingly, they speak low and in code. Labour has its own

dilemma: with good European credentials established by Blair, shouldn't they now keep quiet and let the Tories rip themselves apart? So they too are muted. The LibDems protest that they speak out all the time, but the press bins their speeches when they talk European.

That there are differences of opinion about EMU in 1999 does not excuse the hugely pro-European British establishment for letting the most important political issue of the day fall into the rogue hands of Goldsmith, Gorman, Murdoch and Conrad Black. Cowardice paralyses those who should now be strapping on their armour and clashing their shields for the European idea. The anti-Euro movement is passing the hat round big business – and they had better start putting in serious money. They had better join it, swell its ranks, and make it win. If they prevaricate much longer, the battle will be lost before they ever take to the field.



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## Two religions, one set of challenges

Muslims and Christians should join in *jihad* against common problems, says Akbar Ahmed

Bismillah 'In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful'. These words are used by millions of Muslims every day, that is, millions of times a day we hear the words that Allah – or God – is the Beneficent, the Merciful; this in essence is the spirit of Islam.

In spite of what you may read in the papers and see on TV, Islam is a religion of peace and compassion. Indeed the word Islam derives from the word for peace. Shortly before his death the prophet spoke at Arafat. He emphasised the unity of humanity and the need to respect others: "God has made you brethren one to another, so be not divided. An Arab has no preference over a non-Arab, nor a non-Arab over an Arab; nor is a white one to be preferred to a dark one, nor a dark one to a white one."

Many people do not appreciate that there is a close ideological and theological relationship for Muslims between Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The basis of belief is the same. All three religions believe in the notion of the one divine God; they also believe that we are

mortals temporarily put here on earth and that there is accountability for our actions, an afterlife. The Koran repeatedly points out that both Jews and Christians are "people of the Book". Indeed, for Muslims the prophets of Judaism and Christianity are also their prophets.

It is well to remember that when Muslims are being persecuted in Makkah in the early days of Islam, the holy Prophet sent them to the Christian land of Abyssinia, confident that they would find hospitality there. Late in the 20th century many Muslims again find refuge in the Christian – or at least partly Christian – land of Britain. These days I often wonder about the fate of those Muslims if a Michael Howard had been waiting for them in Abyssinia.

There are many steps that can be taken to help understanding between Islam and the West but the effort needs to come from both sides. A basic knowledge of Islam could be taught in Western schools so that children do not grow up in ignorance of it; ignorance breeds

fear and prejudice. Conversely, Western values, like democracy, need to be explained in Muslim schools; also that the West has more to offer them than just sex and violence, the Muslim stereotype of the West.

Muslims must convince the world that the media images of them as law-breaking and violent people are not true, that foreign embassies, diplomats, travellers and non-Muslims are safe in their countries. These acts are one way of capturing the headlines but they are not Islamic in content or spirit. The fight against injustice and oppression must continue, but must take other forms. There are also too many stories of human rights violations in Muslim lands. Minorities feel threatened and vulnerable. This is not in the spirit of Islam.

How many know (and this question is also posed to Muslims) that the notion of the greater *jihad*, commonly misunderstood as an aggressive act of religious war in the West, which derives from the word to strive, was explained by the Prophet as the attempt to con-

trol our own base instincts and work towards a better, more harmonious world? The lesser *jihad* is to battle physically for Islam; that too only against tyranny or injustice.

The common problems in our world need to be identified: drug and alcohol abuse, divorce, teenage violence and crime, ethnic and racist prejudice, the problems of the aged and the poor; the challenge of the growing sense of anarchy and rampant materialism; the sexual debasement of women and children; the depletion of our natural resources and ecological concerns. On all these issues, Islam takes a strong, enlightened position. This is the real Islamic *jihad* and, if it is properly harnessed and understood, it can provide fresh, sorely needed strength to these most crucial of global issues.

This article is excerpted from a sermon preached last night at Selwyn College Cambridge. The writer's book 'Living Islam: from Samarkand to Stormont' (1995) is published by BBC-Penguin.

مكتبة القرآن الكريم



# Hunting down the Asian tigers

Learning how to imitate and borrow from the rest of the world has been the main strength of East Asia's booming economies, argues Martin Jacques

Over the last year, the Asian tigers have arrived in Britain. At the Tory conference last autumn, John Major launched the idea of Britain as the enterprise centre of Europe, or to put it another way, that we should see ourselves as Europe's tiger. Not to be outdone, Tony Blair has peppered recent speeches with references to the Asian tigers. In January, he made the trip to East Asia in what has almost become a pilgrimage for politicians: Europe has become a problem and East Asia some kind of Mecca.

The most dramatic conversion, though, has been that of Chris Patten, the Governor of Hong Kong and sage of the Tory left. Until last November, and despite having been out in the region since 1992, he had almost nothing to say about what we might learn from Asia: his pronouncements had overwhelmingly concentrated on what Asia could learn from Britain. Then, in a U-turn, he suggested that the economic success of the Asian tigers cannot be unrelated to the fact that governments in these countries spend 25 per cent or less of GDP compared with more than 40 per cent in Europe. He shows no sign of repenting. In an interview for *The End of the Western World* on BBC2 last night, he suggested that European governments would be forced to move in the direction of the Asian tigers much quicker than anyone currently imagines.

We should not exaggerate

Government in East Asia does not assume anything like the same responsibility for welfare

what this political interest in Asia means. But placed in historical context, this assumes a broader significance. Traditionally, British politicians have looked to the United States and western Europe for inspiration and example. For the last 150 years, with the exception of Japan, which was the only non-western country to commence its industrialisation in the 19th century, Europe and the US have enjoyed a monopoly of modernity. For a while parts of the left looked to the former Soviet Union, but this was always a minority interest. The idea that the political mainstream should look beyond the traditional advanced world is something new.

It is a reflection of the growing power and success of East Asia. We are witnessing the first signs of a new cultural traffic; in the past, the flow has overwhelmingly been from west to east. In the future it will increasingly be from east to west. It is the beginnings of the Asianisation of western politics.

The underlying force at work is the economic transformation of East Asia. There is no need to repeat in detail what is already fairly familiar. The original Asian tigers - those that commenced their economic ascent in the Fifties - now enjoy living standards comparable to southern Europe. It is these countries - Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong - that have been attracting most attention. They have gone from rural back-

wardness to industrial modernity in four decades. It took us two centuries.

The second tier, such as Malaysia, whose take-off began in the Seventies, are advancing in leaps and bounds. But it is the third tier, including China and Indonesia, that promises to tilt the world on its axis in the next century.

Who knows where East Asia will be in 50 years' time? The future can never be extrapolated from current trends, however secure they seem to be. The triumphalist mood that suffused East Asian growth two or three years ago has given way to a more sombre debate.

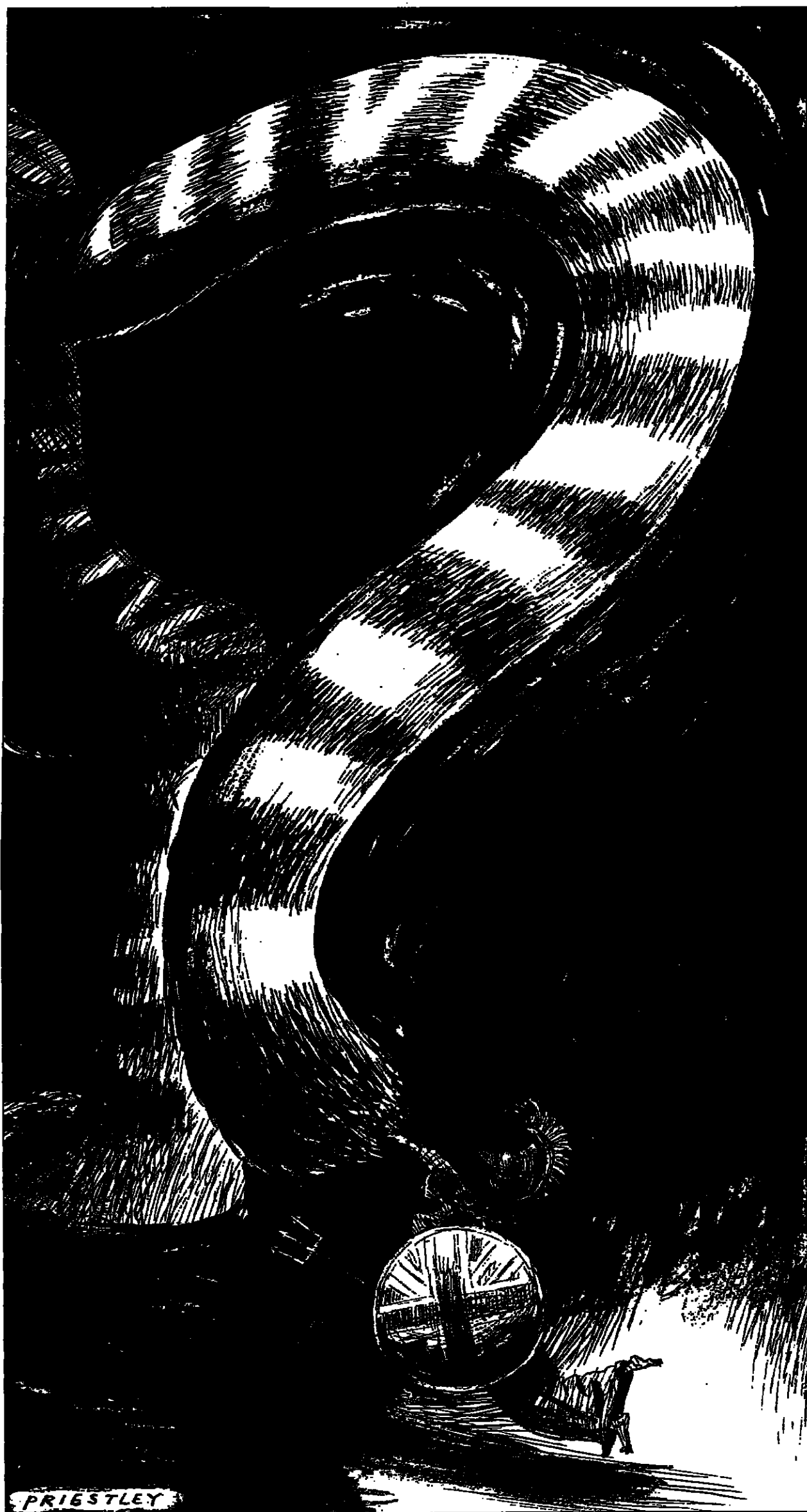
Paul Krugman, the Stanford economist, for example, has argued that the Asian miracle is nothing exceptional, but simply the predictable consequence of throwing large amounts of labour and capital at the production process. He is too pessimistic. Unlike the old Soviet bloc, the Asian tigers are climbing up the technological tree. By the early years of the next century, the more advanced tigers will be not far short of Western levels of development. The centre of gravity of the global economy has already shifted eastwards; that process will continue apace. For almost half a millennium, Europe and latterly the United States have enjoyed a virtual monopoly of modernity; that era is coming to a close.

So far the claims for the Asian tigers have been confined to their economic power. But with economic power comes political and cultural influence. Asia will come to assert that, though it will take time, Japan is an interesting case in point. Over the last 20 years it has achieved Western levels of development - in some areas it is the world leader - but its political and cultural influence still lags well behind its economic power. Slowly that will change.

As yet, the tigers certainly don't think in these terms. Their ebullience is all about growth rates and economic ambition. The idea that they can teach us a thing or two is still a fairly alien concept for them. This is hardly surprising. Historically their relationship with the West has been based on respect and a desire to learn. They have looked westwards for inspiration for centuries. They still think of themselves as learners rather than exemplars. But there are already signs of change. Growing economic confidence is beginning to find expression in a rediscovery of national and regional identities.

Modernisation in these countries is a highly complex process, a constant interaction of the national and the global, the Asian and the Western. It is certainly quite wrong to think that as these countries modernise, they will get more and more like us. The heyday of Western influence in Taiwan, for example, was probably the Seventies and early Eighties. Since then, the country has increasingly tended to look to East Asia, not least Japan and Hong Kong, for its lead.

The West, for its part, has also been slow to think in terms of Asia as a political and cultural force. For centuries, the West has enjoyed a virtual monopoly of modernity. We never dreamt that we could learn anything from what we have seen as colonies, former colonies, or simply backward countries and cultures. We are not accustomed to the idea that we will increasingly have to share modernity with another continent and very different cultures.



It would be wrong, however, to think that the rise of East Asia will be a re-run of earlier periods of British or American hegemony. The new era of globalisation promises to be different and more interesting. There will be no simple hierarchy or pecking order. Instead, the world will be a far more complex place, there will be many players, intense competition and a constant process of borrowing, learning and leapfrogging. Modernity in the 20th century will be hybrid drawing on many different cultures, traditions and role-models.

One reason is that ideas now travel around the globe with incredible speed. Guangdong province in southern China combines the traditional with the modern in a way that was unthinkable even a decade ago. Another reason is that intensifying global competition forces countries to go in search of best practice wherever it may be found. No country can afford to ignore it for too long.

A classic example was Japan's lean production revolution. It set a new benchmark for manufacturing. Every car firm throughout the world, for example, was forced to copy or die. The argument that European governments should emulate the tigers and spend a smaller proportion of GDP is an acceptance that global competition imposes constraints on every nation. That doesn't mean that every government will spend the same proportion of GDP, but there will be a levelling tendency. The new global order will contain two contradictory and countervailing pressures, one towards homogeneity and the other towards diversity.

The growing interest displayed by British politicians in the Asian tigers is a welcome development. Nations that succeed in future will be those that are porous to new ideas from wherever they may come. So far, though, it must be said, that interest has been of a pretty predictable and instrumentalist kind. The tigers have been treated as a political football. The Conservatives have tried to appropriate them as living proof that free market ideas work. Labour, in response, has pointed to the role of the state in the transformation of these countries. This is all primitive stuff. The truth is that the tigers are quite different from Europe.

It is impossible to read these societies in terms of the traditional fault-lines of British politics. These societies come from different histories and are rooted in different cultures from our own. To reduce their significance to party-political point-scoring is to miss the point. The challenge is far bigger than this kind of argument can ever admit.

Take the question of the state, for example. It is certainly true that government in all the

Asian tigers spends far less than is the case in Europe. And the main reason is that it does not assume anything like the same kind of responsibility for welfare. But that does not mean that the state does not play a crucial role in the development of these societies. On the contrary, government is generally far more pro-active than in Europe. The Asian tradition of government is simply different: generally, it is less ideological, more pragmatic, more interventionist and more authoritarian. And the reasons are twofold: firstly, their economic transformation has been achieved under very different conditions and secondly, the state bears a different cultural relationship to society.

A Taiwanese academic, for example, recently suggested to me that the relationship between the state and the people was akin to the relationships in a Chinese family: it is inconceivable that Westerners would speak in such terms. It is foolish to think there are any simple lessons to be learnt from Asia. We know it is difficult enough to copy from the United States or Germany; learning from Taiwan or South Korea is a far trickier process. What may work in one culture may prove quite alien in another.

On the other hand, there is no question that studying how countries quite different from our own do things can help to expand the imagination, especially in our search for new political parameters.

Yet there is one general lesson, however, that Britain could

These countries are addicted to change and are prepared constantly to reinvent themselves

learn lock, stock and barrel from the Asian tigers. Without much doubt they have been the most successful economies in the world over the last few decades. And the key to their success has been a willingness to learn from the rest of the world, a thirst for innovation, and a strong sense of national priorities.

They are immensely dynamic societies, addicted to change and prepared constantly to reinvent themselves. In contrast, we remain insufficiently porous to the outside world, resistant to change and weighed down by a past which consistently thwarts efforts to redefine ourselves. If we could learn to be a little more like them, it would be greatly to our advantage.

## The answer is ... blowing in the wind section

### OBSCURE INSTRUMENTS OF THE ORCHESTRA

A continuation by Dr Arnold Weiskopf of his occasional survey of the less well-known corners of the symphony orchestra.

#### 75. The Clavichord

A brave but doomed attempt to combine the pianoforte family and the reed family, this is not unlike a very large clarinet with a keyboard. "A piano that may be blown through will have the ultimate advantage of portability," said the inventor, Zwenmiling, in 1820. What he hadn't realised was that unless you only played one note at a time, it would take three or four people blowing it simultaneously to get a noise out of it. If clavichord pieces are ever played these days, the part is usually taken by a dozen clarinetists.

#### 76. The Violino

The Violino is the very little-known member of the string family that comes between the viola and the cello. "The cello and the double bass

rest on the floor," said Kirschner, "and the violin and the viola rest on the shoulder. It surely stands to reason that there must be an intermediate instrument which is played on the lap or between the knees." This was the violino, which produced a most beautiful tone some-what like, in Bernard Shaw's words, "an Irish tenor performing to an all-female audience". It died out in the 1900s, and all the jokes hitherto told about violino players were henceforth told about viola and banjo players.

#### 77. The Saxophone

Adolph Sax invented many instruments, some of which have become obsolete with time. Only the saxophone, however, lies at the bottom of the Atlantic ocean. The Belgian inventor was fascinated by the sound of the loud, ringing, plucked instruments favoured by black Americans - the banjo etc - and with his usual restless mind devised a combination of the banjo and saxophone, which could be heard three miles away on a clear night. He shipped a cargo of these redoubtable instruments over



Miles Kingston

to America for experimental sale but the ship went down in a fierce storm off the Florida Keys, taking with it all the known examples of the saxophone. Legend has it that on stormy nights off the Florida coast you can hear a ghostly band of saxophones playing, "Stormy Weather" in G, which seems unlikely, as the song was not written till 100 years after the shipwreck.

#### 78. Opera Obscura

Not strictly speaking a musical instrument, but a device which in its day had some fame and should perhaps be brought back. It catered for those unfortunates who were sensitive enough to enjoy the sight of the opera but not the sound. It was discovered

that if you made a small hole in the back of an opera house, the image of the performance within could be transmitted on to a screen in a room at the back, in the manner of a "camera obscura". This meant that those who wished to enjoy the spectacle but be spared the warbling could sit behind the opera house and watch everything that happened on stage, albeit upside down.

Incidentally, we have had a couple of letters from classical music lovers with genuine queries which Dr Arnold Weiskopf is happy to answer.

#### Dear Dr Weiskopf,

There is a reference to a basset-horn in Jilly Cooper's latest interesting work about the orchestra, *Appassionata*. What kind of instrument is this?

#### Dr Arnold Weiskopf writes:

There is indeed a genuine kind of wind instrument called a basset-horn, but in this novel it seems to refer to a kind of veterinary device used to give dogs an enema. Miss

Cooper is, as you know, a lover of dogs and she seems to have been misled by the existence of a breed of dog known as a basset hound into thinking ... well, into thinking something or other.

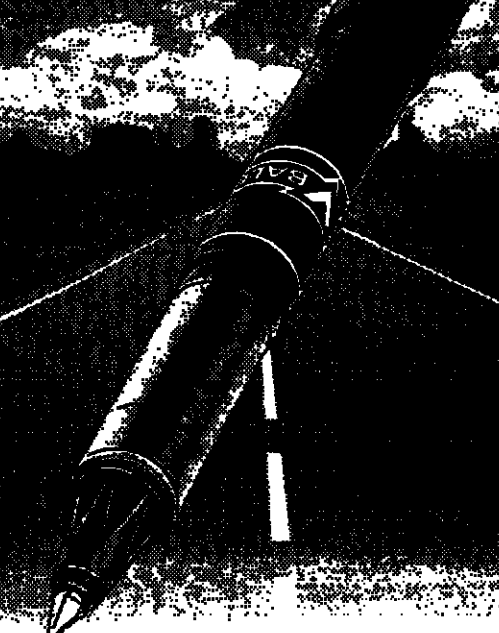
#### Dear Dr Weiskopf,

The famous percussionist Evelyn Glennie is always described as being "profoundly deaf", yet in interviews she seems to hear everything that is said and to talk normally. How can this be?

Dr Arnold Weiskopf writes: Like many musicians, Miss Glennie often sends in a "dep" to do her more wearisome gigs for her. In her case, this certainly covers her radio interviews and TV trips, so we can be sure that when we hear her speaking, it is not her but someone Scottish who hears and speaks perfectly normally.

However, I am sure that she fulfils all her musical engagements in person, as it is not particularly necessary for an orchestral player to hear what your colleagues are doing, and can often be a disadvantage.

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## Ed Love

Ed Love is not a name well known even to those film-lovers who take notes from the creative credits which flash by all too quickly in the cinema. Television is no help, either, often cutting off credit titles or squashing them into unreadable portions of the screen while using the rest of the space to advertise whatever is coming next. This is especially true of cartoon credits, where even resorting to videos and freeze-frames does not always help. This is even sadder for a long-term animator like Ed Love, whose early work was never credited anyway, and whose later work may well be lost thanks to Hanna-Barbera's latest practice of crediting every name in the company but in ultra-rapid frame flashes.

Fortunately for cartoonists, keen enthusiasts of the genre have in recent times been probing into the men and women behind the scenes, publishing articles, interviews and even books about Hollywood's golden age of animation, and whilst the bulk of an animator's work may never now be known, at least a milestone arises here and there to mark the progress of a special talent from rough pencil-drawings to the height of colour and humorous movement. One such master was Ed Love.

Love's 55-year career in animated cartoons began back in Los Angeles in 1930. It was the height of the American Depression and the 18-year-old college leaver with some talent as a cartoonist waded through the Classified Telephone Directory searching for a real professional to give him some tips on how to get work. He chanced on an animator who worked for the Walt Disney Studio and whose assignment at the time was on a Mickey Mouse short. He gave the teenager a chance to try

making Mickey play the violin and then fall over. Young Ed had a go, nervously showed the result to Disney himself, and was promptly hired as an assistant animator at \$18 a week.

From Love's Disney days, one short emerges above all others. This was *Flowers and Trees*, not the first-ever film in the "Silly Symphony" series, but the first to be filmed in glorious Technicolor. It was released in July 1932, and won for Walt his first-ever Academy Award. The director was Burt Gillett, and Love animated an evil tree who kidnapped a pretty young sapling.

Much later, Love's name cropped up on the credits of perhaps Disney's greatest ever feature film, *Fantasia* (1940). This pioneering attempt to bring life to a selection of popular classics was regarded as Disney's greatest folly, especially by the moneybags of Hollywood, but it has stood the test of time and marks the first film use of stereophonic sound. Leopold Stokowski, who conducted the orchestra behind the picture, was the first to use the picture. The Sorcerer's Apprentice, concludes this dramatic sequence by appearing in silhouette and shaking Mickey Mouse's hand. Interestingly, this piece was designed to be a super "Silly Symphony" on its own, and was so successful that during production it expanded into the full-length feature that became *Fantasia*. And it was on this sequence that Ed Love animated.

Love then moved across to the MGM cartoon studio under producer Fred Quimby. He joined the unit headed by Fred Avery, nicknamed "Tex", one of several animation geniuses developed by Warner Bros who found better self-expression elsewhere. Here Love became



Cartoon master: Love animated *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* sequence in *Fantasia*, 1940

a valuable addition to Avery's unit, right from his first production, *Blitz Wolf* (1942). This haywire piece of propaganda rivalled Disney's *Der Führer's Face*, which copied the Oscar-winning anti-Nazi song, punctuated with ripe raspberries. Love animated many of Avery's best shorts, including the howlingly scary *Red Hot Riding Hood* (1943), a top favourite with GIs everywhere and *Screwball Squirrel* (1944), which established Lantz studio as a mainstream Avery madcap.

At MGM, Love was one of a team of four animators: Preston Blair, Ray Abrams and Irven Spence. Other crazy

characters this team brought to life included Droopy Dog, the half-pint hound who introduced himself with "Hello, folks - I'm the hee-yo!" and the large and small bears called George and Junior, who were caricatures of the principal protagonists in John Steinbeck's *Of Mice and Men*. This pair of bears starred in such titles as *Red Hot Rangers* (1947), which would prove to be Love's last film at MGM.

Love then moved over to the Walter Lantz studio, where Woody Woodpecker cartoons were made. Once a major force in animation, Lantz had started to sink after Universal closed their distribution deal and Unit-

ed Artists, a leading independent, took over. Love worked with Fred Moore, a famous name in cartooning who had been dismissed by Disney. Serving under the director, Dick Lundy, they brought their superior skills to bear on *Playful Pelican* (1948). Starring Lantz's second-string hero, Andy Panda, this failed to breathe new life into the little animal, who was promptly retired.

Lantz, nearing the end of his UA contract, never knew whether his studio would last into the following week, and the dithering delays unsettled Love. He quit animation for a while, then found a new home in television where Hanna-Barbera,

the Bill and Joe who once won Oscar after Oscar for MGM with their *Tom and Jerry* series, were setting up as kings of limited animation, the newish technique they had evolved, or perhaps revived, to suit the cut-price budgets of television.

Love worked on *The Flintstones* (1960), the first-ever television cartoon series aimed at an adult audience, and on its futuristic follow-up, *The Jetsons* (1962). Not the same as Disney's, or Avery's or even Lantz's, but at least it was work.

Dennis Gifford

Edward Love, animator: born Los Angeles 1911; died Valencia, California 6 May 1996.

## Maurice Montel

18 June 1940 is regarded as a great date in French history. It was then that General de Gaulle broadcast from London that Free France would continue to fight against Germany. 10 July 1940 is regarded as a shameful date in French history. It was then that the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, meeting together as a National Assembly in Vichy, voted full powers to Marshal Pétain. This marked the beginning of the Vichy state, the so-called National Revolution, and co-operation with the Germans.

But there was a bright side to 10 July. In an atmosphere of panic and passion, when pacifism was the only ideology present and when fear of the Germans and hatred of the English were the dominant feelings, there were 80 members of the Assembly who had the courage to vote against the proposed law which was presented by Pierre Laval, who the reported support of Marshal Pétain. Maurice Montel was the last of that distinguished group of patriots.

One had to be courageous to vote against Laval's law. Enormous trouble had been taken to round up as many senators and deputies as possible, and both the German occupying forces and General Franco's government had helped many of them to get to Vichy in time. It had been decided that those who abstained from voting would have their names published. The casino at Vichy, where the Assembly met, was heavily guarded and once proceedings had begun, no one could leave. No proper debate was held and one deputy who rose to speak was literally forced to sit down.

Above all, Laval had prepared the meeting with his customary skill. He had been lavish with promises and many were led to believe that they, or their

families, would be rewarded with posts. Others had to be content with the assurance that Pétain appreciated their qualities and valued their co-operation.

Montel was singled out for particular attention, and it appears that if he had accepted to vote for the proposal he would have been offered a ministerial post. This was probably because he and Laval knew each other, both coming from the region of Clermont-Ferrand. But more particularly because Montel was a member of a small political group which called itself "*la gauche indépendante*" and which had aspirations of independence from the old political groupings. Laval was right to be apprehensive about this group since of the 11 deputies who were elected in 1936, six voted against the motion, whilst of the 152 socialist deputies only 29 voted against (including, of course, Léon Blum, who Montel knew well). After the war the 80 senators and deputies formed a group which met every 10 July. Montel became their president.

In the war from 1939 to 1940 Montel served in the army and won the Croix de Guerre. After 10 July he worked in insurance before joining the Resistance and was decorated for his work there. With the Liberation he was re-elected deputy in the Cantal where he had been elected, at Saint-Flour, in 1936. However, after a short time he preferred to abandon politics and go into business. This son of peasants was very successful, becoming a director of several insurance companies.

Douglas Johnson

Maurice Montel, politician and businessman: born Espaly-Saint-Marcel, Haute-Loire 10 June 1900; died Ruy-en-Margerite, Clermont-Ferrand 14 May 1996.

## Johnny "Guitar" Watson

When Johnny "Guitar" Watson joined the archdevil of dadaistic rock, Frank Zappa, on the road, it was a bit like Muddy Waters joining Karl-Heinz Stockhausen (or, to mention a similarly unlikely teaming that actually happened, when the *Chieftains* joined John Cage on stage). But Watson was said to have been the seminal influence on Zappa's own guitar playing, and anyway Zappa's admiration for the more hard-core blues players was well known, as witness his hiring blues fiddler Sugar Cane Harris to play with the Mothers of Invention in the early Seventies.

Surprisingly, when Watson recorded with Frank Zappa later that decade, it was mostly on vocals ("One Size Fits All", "Them Or Us", and "Thing-Fish") that he heard him on record, though he played some mean riffs on the live version of the scatological "In France" on the album *FZ Meets the Mothers of Prevention*.

For Watson's part, one of the songs on his 1993 album, *Bow Wow*—his first for 15 years—was supposedly dedicated to Zappa. Born in Houston, Texas in 1935, Watson was influenced by the pioneer of electric blues, T-Bone Walker, first recorded as Young John Watson, had a Top

Ten R&B hit with "Cuttin' In" in 1962, and co-wrote the Larry Williams hit, "Mercy, Mercy, Mercy" in 1967.

As well as touring with Williams, Watson also worked with Big Jay McNeely, Amos Milburn, Bumps Blackwell, Sam Cooke, George Duke, and even the quasi-mariachi trumpet player Herb Alpert, for whose A & M record label Watson recorded "That's What Time It Is" in 1981. He also recorded with Chuck Higgins, an example of which ("Motorhead Baby") is currently available on the CD re-release of his 1957 album, *Three Hours Past Midnight*, the one which supposedly first attracted Zappa to blues guitar playing.

Other seminal albums, such as the eponymous *Gangster of Love* (his nickname for a while) of 1973 and *I Don't Want to Be a Lone Ranger* (1975) are also available. He had some success in the lower end of the rock album charts with his multi-tracked *Johnny Guitar Watson and the Family Clone* (1981) on which he played all the instruments.

Like T-Bone (who was also a jazz trombonist of some distinction), Watson was if anything more interested in jazz than the blues, and last year he confessed

that though he went to hear people like B.B. King appear at clubs in Los Angeles during his teenage days, it was the jazz guests who really turned him on. He also made several jazz piano albums, though he came to the instrument comparatively late in life.

He was not a flashy guitar player, espousing the "less is more" philosophy of fretwork, which didn't stop him from influencing Jimi Hendrix (who could also play simply and sweetly, when required). Most recently, his guitar riffs have turned up on rap songs by Snoop Doggy Dogg and Ice Cube.

In the blues hierarchy, he'd probably be placed well below the real giants like King and Waters, and more towards the funk end of the spectrum, but his neat, well-constructed solos never strayed far from their roots, and pointed putting over his sexy lyrics made him a favourite with audiences. He was last seen in Europe in April.

Karl Dallas

John Watson (Johnny "Guitar" Watson), musician: born Houston, Texas 3 February 1935; married (first son, one daughter); died Yokohama, Japan 17 May 1996.

## Dominguin

Others have written about the public part of Luis Miguel Dominguin's fame—as a rich and celebrated torero, married to a star, friend of the famous and the powerful, from Picasso to Franco; pick a cliché and you could hardly go wrong, writes Keith Rotsford (further to the obituary by Liz Nash, 9 May).

That life, part "creation", part publicity, part pure fantasy existed; it was also only a small part of the man. I knew him, I think, rather better than most; he was my fourth son's godfather and I wrote a book about him, 24 years ago now. That is,

he and I sat in the Hotel Suecia in Madrid, and at his *finca* in Andalucía, for some weeks, and he talked and I listened.

I had never met an athlete then, nor one since, who could come close to his innate intelligence. In that sense, the fact that he was a bullfighter was an anomaly, for he could have been anything. But a very fine bullfighter he was, precisely, because he was intelligent, and innocent and passionate, and respectful of his adversary who was an animal, in the same way that Luis Miguel could be, a creature of instinct with a deep desire to survive.

He was certainly the best torero I saw in the ring in some 40 years. It was like watching a seduction, a deadly flirtation; the risk appalled him and it appealed to him: "Man and bull and public assemble in one place for one purpose: to see the bull killed. The arena is the place in which we are all going to be judged." And of course only one can come out alive. That is drama of an antic kind, and Luis Miguel exploited it better than any other fighter I saw.

Not only was he brave, he was also knowing, and could make connections. Next door to the hotel the Madrid Opera chorus

was rehearsing *Don Giovanni*; over and over again they sang "Viva, viva, viva la libertà". Luis Miguel sat on the end of the bed, shoeless: "Every wound I bear is inscribed with the name of a woman," he said. "The bulls knew, they knew that on the day I was a loser, I was thinking about something else, and the bulls were jealous. I wasn't paying them the attention they thought they deserved, and they got me to it."

I don't think Luis Miguel liked writing the book: he felt he was giving something away. At the same time, it was an opportunity to think about his life.

When he broke up with the lovely Lucia, it was because she had put a house around his free soul. A house that had marble and a big bedroom and baths, from which he would flee to sleep in a hut outside. Anything that had to be done was a constraint. Constraints were bad, they were obligations, and when he saw a constraint, he fled.

I asked him once if he regretted anything in his life and he answered—a maxim from which I have learned much—*no hay errores en la vida*, "that there are no mistakes in life". That one has lived the life one had to live as well as one could.

## Ai Qing



Qing: the passion of a poor peasant for the land

him to the Maoist revolutionary cause.

Ai Qing had been studying fine art in Paris when the Japanese invasion of north-eastern China caused him to return home. But almost immediately after arriving back in Shanghai he was arrested by police in the French concession for involvement in the activities of the League of Left-wing Artists.

His three years in jail became another important turning-point in his career: he started to write poetry because he was unable to paint in prison. Nonetheless his knowledge of colour and light as well as his ability to catch images contributed tremendously to his writing.

Lines like the following from "Snow Falls on the Land": "The Wind / Like a grief-stricken old woman / Closely following behind / Stretching out her ice claws / Tugs at the travellers' clothes"; or from "Dawn Puts on her White Gown": "The green meadow / The green meadow / floating on it / the smoke as fresh as milk..." are typical of his genius for portraying nature and humanity, and contrast markedly with his more political works such as: "All policies must be carried out / All unjust cases must be righted / Even those who are dead / Must be rehabilitated."

During the Sino-Japanese war (1931-45), swept along by the rising storm of patriotism in China, Ai Qing eventually travelled to Yan'an, the capital of the Communist-controlled area. He officially joined the Party in 1941, and was once close to Mao Tse-tung, who talked to him on several occasions about literary policy. When Ai Qing returned to Beijing in 1949 he was already a cadre in the new government, and began to concentrate his talents more and more on writing poems in praise of Mao Tse-tung and Stalin.

He visited many countries as an official delegate until 1958 when he was publicly denounced as a rightist: an article in *Literature and Art*, an official literary journal, said of his writing: "... The more peculiar about these articles is that they are all counter-revolutionary, but were produced by writers who seemed to adopt a revolutionary attitude."

He was subsequently exiled first in the North-east of China, and then in the North-west. The reasons for his victimisation remain unclear however, as he was always a sincere Maoist. The depth of his suffering can be felt clearly in his poem "Fish Fossil", written upon his return to Beijing: "So absolutely motionless, / You have no reaction to the world. You cannot see the water or the sky, / You cannot hear the sound of the waves..."

Regardless of how one views Ai Qing's political stance and the political aspects of his later writing, his powers of description, depth of feeling and artistic passion mark him out as a poet of considerable presence. His works were indelibly marked by the period of turmoil in which he lived, worked, loved, hated and survived, and as such are powerful expressions of the human spirit and hold a special place in modern Chinese poetry.

Lee Ruru

Jiang Haicheng (Ai Qing), poet: born Zhejiang province 27 March 1910; married (five sons, three daughters); died Beijing 5 May 1996.

## ROYAL ENGAGEMENTS

The Queen and The Duke of Edinburgh visit the Royal Horticultural Society's Chelsea Flower Show, London SW3; The Duchess of Gloucester, Princess Alexandra and Princess Michael of Kent also attend. The Duke of Edinburgh, Honorary Member of the Rotary Club of London, presents the Leonardo da Vinci Award 1996 at Buckingham Palace. The Princess Royal, Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, visits Oakeshaw Trinity Church, Paisley, as Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Visits Queen Mary House, Crosshall, Glasgow, visits Langside Church, Glasgow, visits the Mallard, Springfield, Glasgow, and visits Cunningham House, Edinburgh. Princess Margaret attends the Royal Horticultural Society's Chelsea Flower Show, London SW3, and launches the new rose, "Norwich Cathedral", commemorating the 900th anniversary of the foundation of the Cathedral and Diocese. The Duke of Gloucester attends a dinner to celebrate Lord Mervyn's 80th birthday at the Mansion House, London EC2.

Changing of the Guard The Household Cavalry Mounted Regiment mounts the Queen's Life Guard at Horse Guards, 11pm; 1st Battalion Irish Guards mounts the Queen's Guard, at Buckingham Palace, 11.45pm. Band provided by the Irish Guards.

## Births, Marriages &amp; Deaths

## DEATHS

RAY Margaret Olive, nee Barrett, born Watford, and later of Lincoln. Died peacefully at Guildford on 15 May. Very much loved sister, mother and grandmother. Enquiries 01483 567394.

Announcements for Gazette BIRTHS, MARRIAGES & DEATHS (Births, Adoptions, Marriages, Deaths, Memorial services, Wedding anniversaries, In Memoriams) should be sent in writing to the Gazette Editor, The Independent, 1 Canada Square, Canary Wharf, London E14 6DL, telephoned to 0171-293 2011 (24-hour answering machine 0171-293 2012) or faxed to 0171-293 2018, and are charged at £6.50 a line (VAT extra). OTHERS Gazette announcements must be submitted by e-mail (or fax) and are charged at £10 a line, VAT extra. They should be accompanied by a daytime telephone number.

## Birthdays

Mr Tim Albery, opera director, 44; General Sir Hugh Beach, 73; Sir David Berriman, former chairman, North East Thames Regional Health Authority, 68; Sir Robert Burnard, former HM Inspector of Constabulary, 66; Dr Sir Clifford Butler, former Vice-Chancellor, Loughborough University of Technology, 74; Professor Henry Cadbury-Brown, architect, 83; Professor Ian Cameron-Francis, University of Wales College of Medicine, 60; Sir Harry Campton, statistician, 91; The Rev Professor Sir Owen Chadwick, former Master, Selwyn College, Cambridge, 80; Cher, singer and actress, 50; Mr Peter Copley, actor, 81; Ft Lt John Cruickshank VC, banker, 76; Mr Lynn Davies, long jump athlete, 54; Mr Gregory Dyke, chairman and chief executive, Pearson Television, 49; Mr Keith Fletcher, cricketer, 52; Mr Nigel Griffiths MP, 41; Surgeon Vice-Admiral Sir John Harrison, 75; Lord Hollick, chief executive, MAI plc, 51; Mr Simon Kewicz, chairman, Trafalgar House, 54; The Very Rev Professor John McIntyre, theologian, 80; Mr Deryck Murray, former West

Indies cricketer, 53; Mr Jeremy Nichols, Headmaster, Stone School, 53; Mr Peter Shore MP, 72; Sir William Simpson, former trade union leader, 76; Mr James Stewart, actor, 88; Sir Iain Vallance, chairman, British Telecom, 53; Captain David Younger, Lord-Lieutenant of Tweeddale, 57.

## Anniversaries

Births: Sir Henry Percy (Harry Hotspur), soldier and politician, 1364; Pietro Bembo, cardinal and theologian, 1470; Hieronymus Fabricius (ab Aquapendente), physician, 1537; William Thomson, architect, 1759; Honoré de Balzac (Balthus), novelist, 1799; George Gervinus, literary and political historian, 1805; John Stuart Mill, political economist, 1806; Eaton Fanning, composer, 1851; Wladyslaw Sikorski, statesman, 1881; Sigrid Undset, novelist, 1882; Sir William Lawther, trade union leader, 1889; Margery Allingham, detective story writer, 1904; Moshe Dayan, Israeli military commander, 1915. Deaths: Christopher Columbus, explorer and navigator, 1506; Edward

Armitage, historical painter, 1817; Marie-Joseph Paul-Yves Roch-Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette, nobleman and soldier, 1834; The Rev Joseph (José Maria) Blanco White, theological writer, 1841; Mary Lamb, writer, 1847; John Clare, farmer and poet, 1864; William Chambers, author and publisher, 1883; Clara Josephine Schumann, pianist, 1896; Sir Max (Henry Maximilian) Beerbaum, caricaturist and writer, 1956; André Eugene Maurice Charlot, theatrical manager and actor, 1956; Dame Jocelyn Barbara Heworth, sculptor, 1975. On this day: The Earl of Pembroke defeated the French at the Battle of Tewkesbury, 1471; Vasco da Gama, navigator, arrived at Calicut, India, 1498; Ascension Island was discovered by the navigator, Joao da Nova, 1501; after the Battle of Muret, Spanish troops recovered the island, 1756; the Mecklenburg declaration of independence was adopted at Charlotte, North Carolina, 1775; Napoleon defeated the Allies at the Battle of Bautzen, 1813; York Minster was badly damaged following a fire, 1840; the foundation stone of the Royal Albert Hall was laid,

1867; the P & O liner *Egypt* sank after a collision off Ushant with the loss of 87 lives, 1922; Stanley Baldwin became Prime Minister, 1923; the Treaty of Jeddah (Independence of Saudi Arabia) was signed, 1927; Charles A. Lindbergh began his first non-stop solo transatlantic flight, New York to Paris in 37 hours, 1927; Amelia Earhart was the first woman to make a solo crossing of the Atlantic, 1932; Pan American Airlines began regular flights between the United States and Europe, 1939; Germany launched an aerial invasion of Crete, 1941; the first US hydrogen bomb was dropped over Bikini atoll, 1954; there were widespread floods in Romania, with 200 killed, 1971. Today is the Feast Day of St Austregislaus or Otrill, St Bealla or Beallisa, St Eadbert, St Bernardino of Siena, St Edebert and Saints Thalekneus, Asterius, Alexander and Others.

## Lectures

National Gallery: Susan Siegfried, "The Art of Louis-Léopold Boilly: modern life in Napoleonic France", 1pm.

Leicester University: Professor F. Aubke, "Principles, Developments and New Applications of Supercritical", 4pm.

## Appointments

Mr David Colvin, to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Belgium. The Hon Mr Justice Jowitt, to be a Presiding Judge of the Midland and Oxford Circuit. The Hon Mr Justice Gage, to be a Presiding Judge of the South Eastern Circuit. The Hon Mr Justice Hooper, to be a Presiding Judge of the North Eastern Circuit. The Hon Mr Justice Butterfield, to be a Presiding Judge of the Western Circuit. Mr Alistair William McCraith, to be a circuit judge, on the Midland and Oxford Circuit. Mr Joseph William Gastell, to be a circuit judge, on the Wales and Chester Circuit. Mr Timothy James Mort, to be a circuit judge, on the Northern Circuit. Dr Oona O'Neill, to be Chairman of the Nuffield Council on Bioethics.

Mr Julian Ames, to be Director-General of the Hispanic and Latino-Brazilian Council of Canning House. Mr Douglas Henry Day QC, to be a Bench of Lincoln's Inn.

## Wills

Mr Peter Edward Cook, of London NW3, the artist, left estate in the UK valued at £908,229 net. Mrs Kathleen Back (Kathleen Harrison), of London SW20, the actress, left estate valued at £122,249 net. Professor Sir Harold Walter Bailey, of Cambridge, Professor of Sanskrit, Cambridge University 1938-67, left estate valued at £152,153 net. He left £1,000 each to Queens' College, Cambridge, St Catherine's College, Oxford, the University of Western Australia, and Cambridge University; and the residue to the Ancient India and Iran Trust. Sir Hugh Worrell Sprague, of Barbados, former Governor-General of Barbados, left estate in England valued at £9,457 net. Helen Hill, of London NW8, left estate valued at £1,614,390 net. She died intestate.

مكتبة ابن الجوزي



## هكذا من الاصل

his new duties on 1 July. The results could be encouraging.

NatWest Securities is looking for £1,230m against £1,144m.

**Land Securities**, on Wednesday, could announce a slight fall in NAV and profits down 3 per cent to £233m.

For the first time the name *Glenmorangie* will feature in a profit announcement. The famous Scotch whisky group has just changed its name from Macdonald Martin to reflect its leading brand and could be in a celebratory mood on Thursday with profits coming out at £6.6m against £5.7m.

It is one of the dwindling band with two classes of shares – high and low powered. There are hopes it will democratise its voting structure with Geoffrey Mandrell, a leading light at ProShare, the shareholder chairman of the group, the company's chairman. But the new name will be followed by a vote for a shareholder meeting.

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## Nuclear sell-off to fall £1bn short of target

MICHAEL HARRISON

The sale of Britain's nuclear power stations, expected to raise £1bn less than the Government had forecast. The privatisation of British Energy will realise only £1.5bn-£2bn - barely one-third of its asset value.

The flotation, which is scheduled to take place in mid-July, had been expected to bring in about £2.6bn. But the Government's advisers have been forced to reduce their estimates sharply because of an expected drop in electricity pool prices.

This means the proceeds from the sale will not be enough to cover the shortfall in funds needed to meet the liabilities of the ageing Magnox reactors which are being left in the public sector.

When the industry was split into two a year ago, and the sale announced of the more modern reactors, the Magnox liabilities were put at £8.5bn compared with £5.9bn already in the kitty. The Government said it would make up the shortfall - £2.6bn - from the proceeds of the flotation.

In March, the broking arm of

BZW, the investment bank advising the Government on the sale, estimated that British Energy would be worth £2.4bn to £2.8bn based on likely cash flows over the next five years. But ABN Amro Hoare Govett, the company's brokers, are set to publish a report this week indicating a much lower valuation. The report is not expected to specify any price range but it will set out a dividend range which, together with pool price sensitivities, indicates a value of less than £2bn.

Merrill Lynch, the US

investment house which took over Smith New Court, is understood to take an even more pessimistic view on price. The Hoare Govett study will be followed by a wave of research reports from banks appointed to manage the flotation including Cazenove, HSBC Investment Bank, Morgan Stanley and Paribas Capital Markets.

British Energy's capital structure is now largely in place. Its assets have been written down by £3bn to £5bn, the Government has agreed to write off almost £1bn of debt and the liabilities it will take with

it into the private sector have been set at £3.9bn.

But despite the huge debt write-down, the Government has decided that British Energy must be priced at a level which guarantees a successful sale and takes into account the possibility that pool prices will fall.

British Energy is dependent on pool prices since its eight power stations - Advanced Gas Cooled Reactors and the Sizewell B Pressurised Water Reactor are all baseload stations, which have no control over the price they are paid.

BZW's £2.4bn-£2.8bn valuation assumed that pool prices would be 2.4p a unit and that the stations would operate with a load factor of 82.5 per cent compared with 74 per cent achieved in 1994/95. However, it also said that a collapse in pool prices to 2p a unit would wipe £750m off the sale value while early closure of one of its stations would knock a further £500m off the price.

The latest brokers' forecasts take a much more cautious view both of pool prices and capacity utilisation.

Political and regulatory risks

are regarded as less of a threat to the flotation. Dr Robert Hawley, British Energy's chief executive, has had a series of recent meetings with senior Labour Party figures and is thought to have been reassured that in government it would neither seek to renationalise the industry nor levy a punitive windfall tax.

Meanwhile, British Energy is less exposed to direct action from the industry regulator Professor Stephen Littlechild, because its prices are not controlled, unlike those of the regional electricity companies,

and it has no direct influence over pool prices, unlike National Power and PowerGen.

Just under one-third of the shares will be held back for the public with the remainder sold to UK and international institutions through a book-building exercise which will also set the actual share price.

The pathfinder prospectus is due out in the middle of next month after which Dr Hawley and British Energy's chairman John Robb will embark on an international roadshow to sell the offer to investors in the US, Japan and Europe.

## Labour threatens end to Railtrack 'gravy train'

NIG CICCUTTI

Labour warned hundreds of thousands of small investors in Railtrack last night that returns on their newly bought shares will fall far short of their expectations if the party wins the next election.

Clare Short, the party's shadow transport spokeswoman, said Labour would force Railtrack to use the proceeds from land sell-offs on improvements to its infrastructure rather than payouts to shareholders.

Ms Short's toughest warning yet on the fate of Railtrack shareholders under Labour came as more than 600,000 looked set to reap instant profits of about 15 per cent when trading begins on the stock market today.

The £1.9bn sale of the company that owns the railways' track and signalling network was heavily oversubscribed, sparking criticism from Labour that it had been privatised on the cheap.

"I just hope that small investors have taken note of Labour's proposals for Railtrack," Ms Short said. "We have tried to be absolutely straight and made it clear that Labour will stop the gravy train."

"If land which Railtrack owns is sold it will have to be used first and foremost on real investment and to reduce track access charges in order to promote the greater use of public transport. That will undoubtedly affect the rate of return for investors in future."

SBC Warburg, the Government's adviser in the sell-off, announced yesterday that more than 44 per cent of applicants would receive the amount of shares they applied for, while 97 per cent per cent will receive some shares.

Investors who applied for shares through the UK public offer will pay 190p for the first of two instalments, 10 pence less than applications through the international offer. The total price of each share was set yesterday at 390p for institutions and 380p for private investors, at the top end of expectations in the City.

The eventual number of applications for shares was about a third of the nearly two million who first registered an interest in Railtrack's privatisation, leading Labour to claim that its warnings, in prospectuses sent to all registering investors, had been heeded by many potential applicants.

Ms Short said yesterday: "You can sell anything if you sell it cheaply enough and this is a phenomenally cheap price. Railtrack owns large parcels of land in every single city centre in the land. It is a phenomenal sweetener."

Her colleague Brian Wilson, another Labour shadow transport spokesman, claimed Railtrack was actually worth £6bn.

Ms Short added that although Labour was powerless to prevent the big dividend payouts in year one that had made the share offer so attractive,

its controls over Railtrack would curb any future cash handouts.

Sir George Young, the Transport Secretary, said on BBC TV's *On the Record*: "The taxpayer is not just getting £1.9bn. Railtrack is taking over more than half a billion pounds' worth of debt which will be repaid to the Government, bringing it up to about £2.6bn, which is roughly what the net asset value was the last time there was a balance sheet."

Sir George added that had the sell-off not taken place, the Government would have been faced with infrastructure spending of £1bn a year. Privatisation meant Railtrack would now be freed from the Treasury constraints on the public sector and thus able to get fresh funds from the City.

And he denied the intention was to run the network down. "Far from closing lines, we're actually opening lines... We've opened, or reopened 220 stations. The last Labour government closed about 600. So I'm in the business of expanding, investing, building, improving - not shrinking and cutting and closing."

The allocation of shares means that 48.3 per cent will go through the UK public offer, with a further 10.2 per cent via



Screen time: Officials fine-tuning the allocation of Railtrack shares for today's launch

Photograph: Kalpesh Lathiga

the retail tender. SBC Warburg said yesterday that of the 136 million shares applied for through the retail tender, 32.5 million were personal equity plan (PEP) bids. All PEP bids were met in full, with other bidders receiving a further 12 million shares, 1,000 per applicant.

The average number of shares applied for was 657. The allocation for those who registered with one of the Government's 110 Share Shops will be in full up to 300 shares. This falls to 315 for 400 shares applied for and 330 for 500 shares, eventually tapering off to a maximum

of 510 for 2,000 applications. No shares will be distributed to those who applied for more than 2,500. A small minority, mostly among the 13,000 who applied through the public offer but did not register with a Share Shop first, will receive no shares if they applied for more than 600.

## Biotech investors await crucial results for cancer 'blockbuster'

MAGNUS GRIMOND

Investors in Britain's fledgling biotechnology face another roller-coaster ride this week with British Biotech, the nearest the industry gets to a blue-chip stock, expected to announce the results of crucial trials of its potentially blockbuster anti-cancer drug, Marimastat.

It was the euphoria surrounding the early results of these tests which, back in November, transformed the sector almost overnight from a

group of loss-making companies which few took seriously into one now valued at a staggering £4bn.

British Biotech's shares, worth £10.43 before November's announcement, have since soared to £28.45, up 45p on Friday, valuing the company at around £1.6bn and putting it within striking distance of a place in the leading FT-SE100 index.

Marimastat is potentially one of the holy grails of pharmaceutical research. The technology, which blocks the enzymes crucial to the growth and spread

of cancers, is seen as a key breakthrough. Early test results appeared to show that, as well as slowing the rate of growth of cancers, it operates across a broad range of types of the disease, which affects 2.9m new patients annually.

This is in contrast to existing treatments such as Carboplatin and Taxol, marketed by Bristol Myers Squibb of the US, which cover two or, at best, three cancer areas. Success with Marimastat would open up a market estimated at around £7bn a year.

The November results were encouraging about four cancers: colorectal, prostate, pancreatic, and ovarian. One-third of the sample showed a fall or at least no rise in cancer antigens, protein markers in the blood which reveal the presence and strength of the disease. A further 26 per cent showed a reduction in the rate of increase in antigens.

The number of patients involved in these so-called phase II trials have since been increased from over 200 to close

to 500. More importantly, the 94 guinea pigs for whom reasonable data was available will by now have increased significantly, although the company will not say to what level.

The main update on Tuesday will cover the US studies being conducted on Marimastat's effectiveness against pancreatic and ovarian cancers. A general briefing in London will coincide with presentations on the two US trials at the meeting of the American Society of Clinical Oncology in Philadelphia, the

biggest annual gathering of specialist cancer doctors and researchers in the US.

As well as confirming the earlier results, analysts will be seeking reassurance that the anti-cancer activity of the drug is maintained at the lower doses required to reduce side-effects. The early tests showed that very high levels of the drug had been absorbed into the bloodstream, but four patients suffered pains in the shoulder and hands. It is hoped that reducing the dose to eliminate

these pains will not affect the drug's efficacy.

What will happen to shares in the wake of the test results is anyone's guess. Bill Blair of Greig Middleton, one of the bulls of the stock, reckoned Tuesday's data could justify a share price of £38. But Steve Pigg of the brokers Barclays de Zoete Wedd counters "an awful lot has to be right to justify the current share price".

If Marimastat achieves its minimum expectations, the shares may not move much or

even drift back a little. Much will depend on anecdotal evidence accompanying the strict scientific data, he suggests, but "this stock is being driven by sheer market lust, by greed and fear".

Whatever happens, this drug remains a very long way from the market. As Mr Pigg said, phase I and phase II drugs trials "are all about the company convincing itself that the drug is worth continuing with and phase III is all about convincing the regulators, who can be a much tougher proposition."

## UK urges OECD study on corporate tax breaks

DIANE COYLE  
Economics Editor

The Government will call this week for the industrialised countries to assess whether the competition to attract foot-loose multinational businesses through favourable taxation is harmful.

It will propose that the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the rich countries' think tank which holds its annual meeting in Paris this week, should launch a wide study of how tax systems in different countries affect international investment flows. The study, which would take at least 12 months to complete, could form the basis for a new agreement on international taxation which would prevent the tax system being used deliberately to lure investors.

Britain will also push for a

new round of international trade liberalisation, issuing a call for global free trade by the year 2020.

Although other states are likely to agree to the tax study, the call for freer trade is expected to meet some resistance as existing negotiations on areas such as telecommunications and audio-visual trade have run into the sand.

The World Trade Organisation itself, the multi-lateral body which would have to lead a new negotiating round, will resist taking on such a challenge before it has resolved its own teething troubles and wrapped up issues left over from the Uruguay Round of negotiations.

The British move follows a similar call by Sir Leon Brittan, the EU's trade supremo. However, some also see it as an attempt to deflect demands by some countries, led by France

and the US, to write minimum social standards into trade agreements. This row, which emerged at the Group of Seven jobs summit in Lille last month, will resurface at the OECD's elegant chateau headquarters in Paris this week.

Those in favour of so-called social clauses argue that they are an effective way to outlaw practices such as bonded and child labour which allow some developing countries to produce unfairly cheap goods. Britain, along with Japan and Germany, sees increasing prosperity in the Third World - which depends on trade - as the solution to unacceptable practices.

The French and Americans, however, want to put proposals on social clauses to the first annual meeting of the World Trade Organisation. This will be held in Singapore in December.

## Barclays enlists hi-tech helper to vet borrowers

PETER RODGERS  
Business Editor

Barclays has completed the installation of a new computerised corporate lending system that it claims will prevent a repeat of the sudden catastrophic emergence of bad debts that hit the bank after the last recession.

The system, called Lending Advisor (sic), now covers 1,500 managers in 350 branches and regional offices and 60,000 business customers ranging in turnover from £500,000 to large companies, though not the really big multinationals.

David Weymouth, director of corporate services, said: "In the late 1980s nobody knew they were hitting an iceberg until they smashed into it and started to sink. With this you can see the iceberg much earlier. There is an early warning capability in this that is very important."

The system helps bank managers assess the creditworthiness of their customers by loading financial information about the company on to the computer, which compares the business to its peers and flags possible areas of concern thrown up by the figures.

It also projects the company's financial performance and shows the impact of changing business plans on cash needs. Managers input their own views on the company, the industry in which it operates, its management, their performance records and even their ethics.

The system highlights any conflicts between this judgemental information and the financial data.

The immediate objective of the system is to speed up lending decisions to companies and make them more consistent around the bank.

Mr Weymouth denied that the computer system automated corporate lending in the same way as credit scoring for personal loans. Decisions are still taken by managers and the computer does not make recommendations about whether to make a loan, how much it should cost or what security should be put up.

But because of the improvements in credit analysis brought in by the new system, many more decisions can be taken at branch and regional office level than in the past.

Mr Weymouth said: "Managers will have considerably more autonomy so they will be allowed to make faster decisions." Where the computer analysis shows borrowers are in the good risk to medium risk range, then decisions will be taken at lower levels in the bank.

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THE INDEPENDENT  
section two

STOCK MARKETS									
FT-SE 100									
	Index	Close	Week's Chg	Change%	1996 High	1996 Low	Vol	YTD High	YTD Low
FTSE 100	3789.50	+35.2	+0.9	3897.10	3639.50	3.94			
FTSE 250	4513.40	+0.6	+0.0	4568.60	4015.30	3.33			
FTSE 350	1917.00	+13.9	+0.7	1945.40	1816.80	3.80			
FT Small Cap	2238.54	+15.3	+0.7	2299.54	1954.06	2.90			
FT All Share	1901.77	+13.7	+0.7	1924.17	1791.95	3.73			
New York	5887.50	+169.4	+3.1	5989.74	5032.94	2.20			
Tokyo	21916.00	+496.5	+2.3	22292.05	19724.70	0.71			
Hong Kong	10816.85	+219.1	+2.1	11594.99	10204.87	3.37			
Frankfurt	2537.33	+68.5	+2.8	2550.18	2284.86	1.86			

Source: FT Information

INTEREST RATES									
UK interest rates									
	Rate	1 Month	3 Months	6 Months	1 Year	2 Year	3 Year	5 Year	10 Year
UK	5.84	6.38	7.98	8.10	8.10	8.15			
US	5.38	5.81	5.41	5.64	6.05	6.92			
Japan	0.53	0.88	2.41	2.52					
Germany	3.28	3.31	6.41	6.85	7.14				
Bond Yields									
	Rate	1 Month	3 Months	6 Months	1 Year	2 Year	3 Year	5 Year	10 Year
UK	5.84	6.38	7.98	8.10	8.10	8.15			
US	5.38	5.81	5.41	5.64	6.05	6.92			
Japan	0.53	0.88	2.41	2.52					
Germany	3.28	3.31	6.41	6.85	7.14				
MAIN PRICE CHANGES									
	Index	Close	Week's Chg	Change%	1996 High	1996 Low	Vol	YTD High	YTD Low
UK	271	32.5	13.6	British Gas	177.5	50.5	22.1		
Spain	854	79	10.2	T & N	158	19	10.9		
Perpetual	2588	210	8.9	Wickes	115	11	8.7		

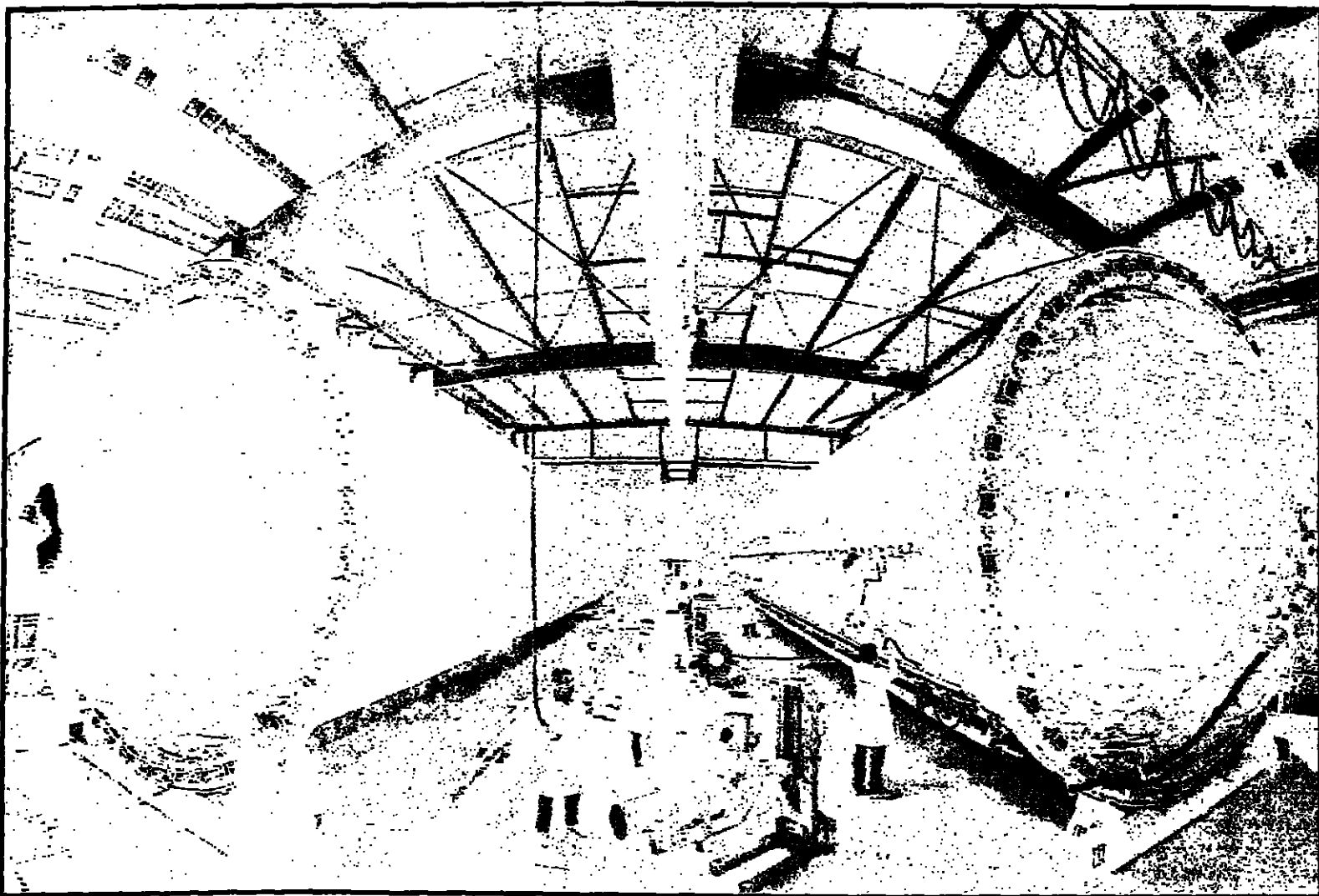
CURRENCIES									
£/\$									
	Rate	1 Month	3 Months	6 Months	1 Year	2 Year	3 Year	5 Year	10 Year
£/\$	1.5157	-0.69	1.5645						
\$/£	1.5135	-0.90	1.9665						
£/DM									
	Rate	1 Month	3 Months	6 Months	1 Year	2 Year	3 Year	5 Year	10 Year
£/DM	2.3132	-0.85	2.425						
DM/£	161.637	+1.236	156.09						
OTHER INDICATORS									
	Rate	1 Month	3 Months	6 Months	1 Year	2 Year	3 Year	5 Year	10 Year
Oil Brent	17.63	-1.35	18.37						
Gold	391.05	-1.25	388.40						
Gold £	258.65	+0.94	243.04						







Edited by  
Tom Wilkie



The main fuel tanks for two Ariane 5 rockets under construction in France

Photograph: David Parker for ESA/Science Photo Library

## Boost to the future?

**The new rocket Ariane 5 lifts off next week. On it will ride the hopes of the entire European space industry, writes Peter Bond**

At the end of this month, the largest rocket ever built in western Europe, the European Space Agency's new Ariane 5 launcher will make its maiden flight. Riding on the giant booster will be more than 10 years of engineering development and \$7bn of investment, not to mention the future of the European space industry for the next 15 to 20 years.

Twenty years ago, most of the Western world's satellites were lifted into orbit by American rockets. Today, this dominant position has been taken over by the European Ariane 4, but competition is once again hotting up. Hence the tremendous significance of next week's maiden flight.

The Ariane 5 programme dates back to 1985 when the European Space Agency's ministerial council – without the backing of the UK government – gave the go-ahead to preliminary studies for a new rocket which would meet predicted demand for the late 1990s and lead Europe into the 21st century ahead of its competitors.

Since then, between 6,000 and 10,000 employees at 150 European companies – mainly in France, Germany and Italy – have been working full-time on the new launcher. Belatedly recognising its mistake in virtually ignoring one of the most commercially viable space projects in Europe, the UK government has recently agreed to contribute the modest sum of \$4.3m to the programme over the next four years – “Enough to get the flag on the side of the rocket,” said one disillusioned commentator.

Ariane 5's main task will be

to carry large communications satellites into geostationary orbit above the equator. Officials of the European Space Agency, which paid for its development, and of Ariane-space, the private company that operates and markets the rockets, believe size will be a major factor in meeting this requirement.

Standing more than 50m tall and weighing 750 tonnes at lift-off, the newcomer will be able to carry nearly 20 tonnes into low Earth orbit. However, on most missions it will be required to lift one communications satellite weighing 6.8 tonnes or two with a total mass of 5.9 tonnes into geostationary orbit 36,000km above the equator.

Most of the awesome power required to carry such heavy payloads comes from two solid-fuel rocket boosters which stand like stilts on either side of the rocket. Standing 30m tall, they are 10 times larger than any solid-fuel motors previously made in Europe.

Just as important is the newly developed first-stage Vulcain rocket motor, mainly built by France and Germany. Burning 1 tonne of super-cooled liquid hydrogen and oxygen every four seconds, this engine will propel payloads to a height of 140km before a much smaller German-built second-stage motor completes the final insertion into orbit.

Investment in the new system has not been limited to the rocket. \$1.3bn has been ploughed into building additional facilities at the Kourou spaceport in French Guiana. They include a brand new launch pad, buildings for integration and final assembly of the rocket and its payload, a plant for manufacturing solid fuel, a solid booster testing area and a plant for production of liquid fuel.

With the end of the Cold War, the market for launch services has recently been opened to competitors from the East in addition to the traditional US competition. While the threat from China's Long March rockets has been denied by a series of mishaps, including the deaths of at least six people during a launch explosion in February, a recent alliance between the Russians and the American aerospace giant Lockheed-Martin Corporation has introduced a major new player.

Since it has been on offer in the West, the Russian Proton rocket has earned orders for 16 launches over the next few years. With an enviable record for reliability over three decades, a highly competitive price and performance even better than Ariane 5's, the Proton is likely to be the major threat to European dominance in the coming years.

ESA's programme manager, Jacques Durand, is confident

that the new booster will be able to fight off its rivals. “Back in 1987, we had a number of objectives. First, to increase performance. This now appears right because the mass of satellites has increased. Then we had the objective of making it even more reliable than Ariane 4. This is very important in international competition and attracts customers' interest. Thirdly, in the production phase, Ariane 5 will be 10 per cent less costly than Ariane 4. All of these factors will place Europe in a good position to face the competition.”

The newcomer's first two launches are regarded as test flights. On its maiden flight, Ariane 5 will be carrying four identical science satellites, known as Cluster. Together with the recently launched SOHO satellite, they will make up ESA's contribution to the International Solar-Terrestrial Science Programme.

Flying in formation above the Earth's poles, Cluster will study how charged particles ejected by the Sun interact with the Earth's magnetic field.

For Ariane 5's second flight in October, ESA is offering a cut-price launch of a commercial satellite. Also on board will be an amateur communications satellite and a mock-up of a re-entry capsule which will carry the agency's hopes of one day developing a manned spacecraft.

## Wrongful conviction that could cost lives

**BSE might never have happened if we had not misjudged a solvent, says John Emsley**

Paint stripper very nearly prevented the British epidemic of mad cow disease and the subsequent panic that people may have contracted brain disease from eating beef products contaminated with the causative agent of Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy.

Chemists in Britain had discovered that the solvent dichloromethane (DCM) was ideal for extracting fat from the so-called grieves – animal offal that has been pulped and heated under pressure at 120°C. When the grieves have been de-fatted, the high-protein residue is sold as cattle fodder.

The fat used to be removed from grieves with either hexane, a highly flammable solvent, or trichloroethylene, which was safer but contaminated the product. In the early 1980s, the rendering industry had already built a pilot plant using DCM as the solvent. It was producing high-grade fat and cattle cake, free of the BSE agent.

However, before the process could be scaled up, a report from the US Environmental Protection Agency reported that DCM caused cancer in mice. British firms that processed abattoir waste abandoned the new solvent, and went over to a non-solvent process instead. This used lower rendering temperatures, and pressed the grieves to extract the fat. Unfortunately, as we now know, the BSE agent survived the new treatment.

DCM was also attacked from another quarter: environmentalists accused it of damaging the earth's atmosphere because, like CFCs, it contains ozone-depleting chlorine atoms. Throughout these scares DCM continued to be the active ingredient in DTV paint strippers.

Ironically, research has since shown that DCM does not cause cancer in humans, nor does it damage the ozone layer. DCM, also known by its older name of methylene chloride, is a clear, volatile, non-flammable, colourless liquid with a not unpleasant odour. It has the molecular formula CH<sub>2</sub>Cl<sub>2</sub> with two hydrogens and two chlorines attached to a carbon atom. DCM has a remarkable ability to penetrate

hardened paint films and lift them off. It is used industrially on a large scale to clean metal surfaces and to dissolve oils, fats, waxes, resins, rubber and tar. It is essential for the manufacture of viscose yarns, cigarette filters and cellophane, which are made from DCM solutions of cellulose acetate.

ICI's Chlor-Chemicals plant at Runcorn, Cheshire, is Britain's largest producer of DCM, which is made from methanol. Worldwide production is around a million tons a

year, with ICI producing a fifth of this. Dr Martin Smith, ICI's Safety, Health and Environment Manager, said: “DCM was first introduced as a safer alternative to ether, an equally volatile, but dangerously flammable liquid that was common in hospitals and laboratories until the 1960s. Although DCM was also used as an anaesthetic it was not widely used, but it has proved very popular in other ways. A high-purity grade of DCM is used extensively by pharmaceutical and cosmetic manufacturers.”

As with all volatile solvents, DCM is tightly regulated by the UK Health & Safety Executive. The safe working level in air is 100 parts per million (ppm), well below the 2,000 ppm level that causes headaches and vomiting, and the 20,000 ppm that will cause death. Most DCM that enters the body is expelled on the breath, but

some is converted to carbon monoxide and this could affect people with a heart condition. Splashes of DCM on the skin can be alarmingly painful, but the effect soon wears off if the affected area is bathed with water, and there is no permanent damage.

More alarming was the development of cancers by mice who were exposed to high levels of vapour. Yet research on rats and hamsters showed no increased risk of cancer, and epidemiological studies on 6,000 people who had worked with the solvent over many years showed no increased susceptibility either.

Dr Trevor Green, senior scientist at Zeneca's Central Toxicology Laboratory at Macclesfield, Cheshire, has been researching DCM for 10 years and believes there is a scientific explanation for the special sensitivity of mice: “They have high levels of an enzyme, glutathione, in the nucleus of each cell which can activate the DCM to form a metabolite. This mutates the cell's DNA and triggers off cancer.” Although rats, hamsters and humans also have this enzyme it is not located in the cell's nucleus and so does not act as a carcinogen.

There are no natural sources of DCM, apart from small amounts given off by erupting volcanoes, and the current atmospheric level of 0.0005 ppm can be attributed almost entirely to human activity. Even if more is manufactured, this level is unlikely to rise because DCM is destroyed by light and oxygen, and has a life-span of only nine months in air. It is no threat to the ozone layer, nor does it cause photochemical smog over cities, and the Department of the Environment concludes that it has little effect as a greenhouse gas.

The earlier conviction of DCM as a dangerous pollutant now looks to have been a miscarriage of justice. Indeed, had it not been wrongly convicted, it might have prevented BSE in Britain, thus saving the British beef industry and, it may yet turn out, human lives.

Dr John Emsley is science writer in residence at Imperial College, London.

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### Questionnaire

#### Please complete in block capitals

1. Mr ☐ Mrs ☐ Ms ☐

Surname: \_\_\_\_\_

First Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Post Code: \_\_\_\_\_

I am seriously interested in meeting someone through Dateline.

2. Personal Information

Marital Status: Single ☐ Divorced ☐

Widowed ☐ Separated ☐

Religion: \_\_\_\_\_

Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Place of Birth: \_\_\_\_\_

Do you have children of your own?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, how many live with you? \_\_\_\_\_

#### 3. Your personal details

Height: \_\_\_\_\_

Build: slight ☐ medium ☐ large ☐

Hair colour: \_\_\_\_\_

Dress/Looks: casual ☐ fashionable ☐

elegant ☐ sporty ☐

#### 4. Your work

Present job: \_\_\_\_\_

Self-employed ☐ employed ☐

civil servant ☐ manual worker ☐

part-time ☐ not working ☐

unemployed ☐ retired ☐

#### Education

O levels / GCSE's ☐ A levels ☐

Further Education ☐ University ☐

Technical Qualification ☐

Other: \_\_\_\_\_

#### 5. Your Personality

☐ Affectionate ☐ Fashionable

☐ Serious ☐ Practical

☐ Considerate ☐ Conventional

☐ Shy ☐ Reliable

☐ Romantic ☐ Adventurous

#### 6. How would people who know you best describe you?

☐ always ready for a joke

☐ somewhat dreamy

☐ never has problems

☐ takes life a bit too seriously

☐ not easily upset

☐ always active

☐ chatty

#### 7. Your interests

☐ Wine/Dining ☐ Jazz/Folk music

☐ Pubs ☐ Classical music

☐ Sports/Keep fit ☐ Theatre/Arts

☐ Politics/History ☐ Watching TV

☐ Reading ☐ Smoking

☐ Travelling ☐ Astrology

☐ Science/Tech ☐ Children

☐ Cinema ☐ Homemaking

☐ Pets/Animals ☐ Gardening

☐ Pop music ☐ Countryside

#### 8. Details of the partner you would like:

Min. age: \_\_\_\_\_ Max. age: \_\_\_\_\_

Height: min. \_\_\_\_\_ max. \_\_\_\_\_

Don't mind ☐

Marital status: Single ☐ Divorced ☐

Widowed ☐ Separated ☐

Don't mind ☐

#### 9. Which of the three pictures do you prefer? (tick the box)

\_\_\_\_\_

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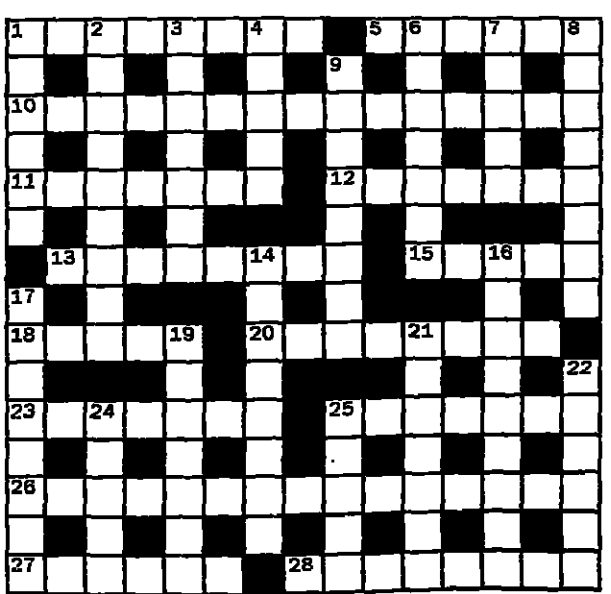
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## THE INDEPENDENT CROSSWORD

No 2991, Monday 20 May

By Paula



- ACROSS**
- 1 Take it easy assembling square base (4,4)
  - 5 Architectural set back? (6)
  - 10 Wonder he left Pat arranging Prokofiev piece (5,3,3,3)
  - 11 Look irritated by ugly sight (7)
  - 12 Training gear stays, we're told (7)
  - 13 Ball game played on pitch that's highly rated (4-4)
  - 15 Band of ice? (5)
  - 18 City sets an example, by the sound of it (5)
  - 20 Check underground scientific equipment (4,4)
  - 23 Australian friend's pocketing money for mixed drink (7)
  - 25 On reflection leave out your old man (7)
  - 26 Neil starts other work when all else fails (2,3,4,6)
  - 27 Reach hospital inside segregated area (6)

- DOWN**
- 1 Quarter exercise in regular group (6)
  - 2 At risk of getting hooked? (2,3,4)
  - 3 Dish out a red oil (7)
  - 4 Strunk from depositing a number in book (5)
  - 6 English society taken in by run away poet (7)
  - 7 Manage putting up with hard time (5)
  - 8 It's used for washing flannel (4,4)
  - 9 They attend and set off electoral divisions (8)
  - 14 Nuisance about sorting out study period (8)
  - 16 Birdie scored in golf? (9)
  - 17 Skinhead's not up to it, being lazy (8)
  - 19 Striking is unacceptable way out (7)
  - 21 Moderate amateur displays painting technique (7)
  - 22 Something fishy about story involving European (6)
  - 24 Swim in the club at Henley (5)
  - 25 Turn over mainly high sum (5)

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